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HANDBOOK OF PAINTING.

THE

ITALIAN SCHOOLS.

TRANSLATED, FROM THE GERMAN OF KUGLER, BY A LADY.

EDITED, WITH NOTES,

BY SIR CHARLES L. EASTLAKE, F.R.S.,

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

THIRD EDITION.

WITH MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS,

FROM THE WORKS OF THE OLD MASTERS, DRAWN ON WOOD, BY GEORGE SCHARF, JUN.

IN TWO PARTS.—PART II.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1855.

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BOOK V.

PERIOD OF HIGHEST DEVELOPMENT AND DECLINE.

MASTERS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

INTRODUCTION.

All the elements which had existed apart from each other and had composed distinct styles in the periods hitherto considered, all the qualities which had been successively developed, each to the exclusion of the rest, but which in the aggregate fulfilled the conditions of a consummate practice of Art, were united about the beginning of the sixteenth century. This union constituted a most rare and exalted state of human culture—an era when the diviner energies of human nature were manifested in all their purity. In the master-works of this new period we find the most elevated subjects, represented in the noblest *form*, with a depth of feeling never since equalled. It was only for a short period that Art maintained this high degree of perfection—scarcely more than one quarter of a century! But the great works then produced are eternal, imperishable. They bear, indeed, the stamp of their own age, but are created for all ages; and as they were the pride and admiration of the time when they were produced, so they will awaken the enthusiasm of the latest posterity. For the truly beautiful depends not on external or local circumstances; the Madonna di S. Sisto of Raphael, the Heroes of Phidias, Leonardo's Last Supper, and Scopas's group of the Niobe and her Children, belong not exclusively to Catholic Italy, nor to heathen Greece. In all places, in all times, their power must be felt, and must produce its impression on the heart of the spectator.

At the first glance it seems surprising that in this most flourishing period of modern Art there should appear no single

supreme representative, as a prominent centre, to which all the others tend like the radii of a circle; no highest consummation which can be considered as the term—the keystone, as it were—of this wondrous building. On the contrary, many individuals, many works of Art of various kinds, all equally estimable, are presented to our view. Even artists not especially gifted, have, in this favoured time, produced some works of high perfection; and although criticism may here and there detect external deficiencies, the same spirit of divine beauty breathes from them all; they still afford a higher gratification to the mind than the works of any other period, either earlier or later. But such is the essence of beauty, it is confined to no fixed canon, it pervades life in its whole extent, and may still be conceived freely, and represented in a freely created form, by the gifted artist, according to his individual feeling. Its principle is that of the sunbeam, which, though broken into various colours by the prism, is, in each portion, equally saturated with light.

Thus, in the period we now approach, we shall find several prominent groups, each of which, in cultivating peculiar qualities, produced the grandest works. We shall become acquainted with the individual masters who form the centres of these groups, and whose characteristics have been impressed more or less forcibly on their scholars and imitators.

The general course of history which is coincident with this wonderful epoch of Art would seem, at first sight, to warrant no such high results. The period was one totally unfavourable to the political interests of Italy. It was the time of the Leagues, and of the shallowest experimental policy that ever had been known. At that time foreign dominion established itself once and for ever in the land. But the highest development of art is not immediately dependent on the position of the State. Besides the conquerors and the politicians, who at that time disordered all its springs, Italy fortunately possessed princes like Pope Julius II., and magistrates like Pietro Soderini, who were keenly alive to those real and lasting benefits which a country derives from Art. She possessed also rich corporations who gave form and object to the aspirations of a painter, while they guaranteed his daily existence;

and finally she possessed a people in whom a feeling for all that was great and beautiful had been excited, and who were, at that time, conscious of being the first nation in the world.

Any endeavour to trace the state of Italian civilization of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in its proper relation as the basis of Art, would lead us too far into historical questions. Some remarks, however, may be permitted. We are much accustomed to regard only the immoral aspect of the Italy of that day, forgetting the infinite freshness and elasticity of the people, that indestructible juvenility from which the upper classes of the nation were constantly receiving new sources of moral life. Though the manners, here and there, were sunk in the deepest depravity, yet civilization might be said to flourish in the truest sense of the word. Then arose among the people not only a common consent, but a positive love for the beautiful and dignified in life; for that which, since the decline of the ancient world, had appeared to slumber, and which now set its high stamp alike on literature, poetry, and manners, on the artistic enhancement of every accessory of life, as well as on the free urbanity of social intercourse. A style of architecture now appeared, combined from the reminiscences of antiquity and the requirements of the day, which, however it may show the want of that inward principle which accompanies all derived and composite creations (such, for example, as the Italian language itself), developed a new beauty in form and a new harmony of proportion. This was the time, therefore, for sculpture and painting to flourish in their fullest freedom and grandeur. The epoch of ecclesiastic-political strife had passed away, leaving a certain indifference behind it, and even the church no longer required art to minister to edification as such, but rather to supply that beautiful and living type of form which is in itself the symbol of the High and the Infinite. In addition to this, profane and classic art had come greatly into vogue. In the province of art, as well as in every other belonging to Italian civilization, respect for antiquity became an element of the highest importance. Poetry and the plastic arts were now enriched by subjects and models of indisputable normal value. It is admirable, too, to observe the freedom and independence with

which the great men of the day availed themselves of this assistance. We find no traces of laborious copyings—none were needed by a race who had themselves acquired every detail of plastic form afresh. The period of Raphael was not indebted in the first instance to the antique, but rather felt itself marvellously inspired by its spirit; and borrowing from it not the merely national and accidental, but the immutable and the infinite, was itself enabled to reproduce the immutable and the infinite likewise.

CHAPTER I.

LEONARDO DA VINCI AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

At the head of this new period stands Leonardo da Vinci.[1] His works are the first which afford complete satisfaction to the eye and mind, for, although contemporary with many of the artists already mentioned, he was not, like them, confined to one direction. Leonardo was born in the year 1452, at Vinci, a castellated village in the Val d'Arno; he died in France, in 1519. Distinguished alike by gifts of body and mind, he appears to have possessed an unparalleled versatility, united with indefatigable zeal in extending his inquiries and enlarging the sphere of his attainments. He was handsome, well-formed, and endowed with surprising bodily strength; he was master of all the knightly exercises of riding, dancing, and fencing; as an architect he constructed several edifices, particularly in Milan, and left designs for others. He was a sculptor, painter, musician, and poet; he applied himself zealously to all the sciences necessary to the improvement of Art, particularly anatomy (both of men and horses), mathematics, perspective, mechanics, etc.; he has also left several

[1] C. Amoretti, Memorie Storiche su la vita, gli studj e le opere di Lionardo da Vinci, Milano, 1804.—L. da Vinci, by Hugo Count Gallenberg, Leipzig, 1834.—A mediocre translation of the last, with some extracts from German authors.—Brown, The Life of L. da Vinci, London, 1828.—Outlines in Landon.—Vies et Œuvres, etc., t. L. da V. The engravings by Fumagalli,—Scuola di Lionardo da Vinci in Lombardia, Milano, 1811,—are very important for Leonardo and his school.

works on physics. Descriptions of playful mechanical contrivances have been preserved, with which he amused himself and others; he invented all kinds of machines for swimming, diving, and flying; a compass, an hygrometer, etc. Some of his schemes were grander and more important; for example, that of cutting a canal to unite Florence with Pisa: the actual completion of similar works occupied much of his time elsewhere. Another plan—bold, but for him not impossible—was to raise the ancient baptistery or church of S. Giovanni at Florence from the ground, by a sub-structure, to do away with the somewhat sunken appearance, which has so unpleasing an effect in this otherwise beautiful building. Finally, we must not omit his exertions and numerous inventions in military architecture.

But the centre of all the various powers of this great man was his prevailing love for the plastic arts—for painting especially, to which he dedicated the greatest and best part of his active life. His anatomical studies have been already mentioned. The same zeal which he applied to the study of mere form was extended to all its manifestations of life. None could be more eager, more quick, in observing and seizing the expressions of the passions, as they are displayed in countenance and gesture. He visited all the most frequented places, the scenes where the active powers of man are most fully developed, and he drew in a sketch-book, which he always carried with him, whatever interested him.[1] He followed criminals to execution, in order to witness the pangs of the deepest despair; he invited peasants to his house, and related laughable stories to them, that he might learn from their physiognomies the essence of comic expression. Inanimate nature he studied with the same earnestness. Of his various writings on Art, the 'Trattato della Pittura' has descended to our times, and still forms a very useful compendium.

If this disposition to careful study shows the sure foundation on which the style of Leonardo is based; if a just conception and characteristic representation of what was before him are

[1] Single heads and caricatures are still to be seen in different collections. Others are preserved to us by the engravings of W. Hollar and Jac. Sandrart. See the German translation of Vasari, vol. iii. p. 16.

to be considered as the elements of his practice, he displays on the other hand a profound *subjective* feeling, a refined, enthusiastic sentimentality, which in some sort may be compared with the characteristics of the Umbrian school. In some of his works one or other of these two tendencies predominates; in his principal ones, on the other hand, both seem to balance each other in the purest harmony, elevated to so high a degree of perfection by this union of the power of thought with the feeling for beauty of form, that Leonardo is justly entitled to take one of the first places among the masters of modern Art. He who investigated common life even to its minutest modifications and details, could also represent the holy and divine with a dignity, calmness, and beauty of which the greatest genius only is capable.

Leonardo was the natural son of a certain Pietro, a notary of the Signoria of Florence, by whom he was placed in the school of Andrea Verocchio. From this master he must have derived his inclination for the double study of sculpture and painting. The Baptism of Christ, in which an angel done by the scholar is said to have deterred the master from the practice of painting, has been already mentioned (p. 214). Little is known of other early works of Leonardo. It is related that he once painted a fabulous monster, and made studies for it from toads, serpents, lizards, bats, etc., of which he had a whole menagerie; his own father drew back in fear from the horrible picture, but afterwards sold it at a high price. He also painted a head of Medusa, lying on the earth amidst all sorts of reptiles: it is supposed to be the same now in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence; it seems, however, more probable that this is a later but very excellent copy of the original.[1] This picture, which is deficient in marking as compared with Leonardo's usual style, is still very masterly in many respects; the faded, sallow colour, the dark vapour issuing from the mouth, the convulsion of death in the glassy, fixed, expiring eyes, are all powerfully expressed. Two cartoons of his early time were particularly famous: one represented Neptune, in a stormy sea, surrounded by nymphs and tritons; the other, the Fall of Man, in a beautiful and elabo-

[1] Rumohr, Ital. Forsch., ii. 307.

rate landscape indicating Paradise: neither of these exist. It is difficult to decide with regard to other early productions ascribed to Leonardo da Vinci; a critical investigation of his works has as yet been only partially undertaken; by far the greater part of those which bear his name in galleries are later imitations or the work of his scholars. Besides a Madonna, with a vase of water with flowers, in the Borghese Gallery (which, however, was no longer there in 1846), two portraits existing in Florence have the greatest claims to originality—the one that of a youth in the gallery of the Uffizj; the other that of Ginevra Benci, in the Pitti Palace, an unpretending but intelligently conceived picture of the greatest decision and purity of drawing and modelling.

In the year 1482 Leonardo was invited to the court of Lodovico Sforza il Moro, then regent, afterwards Duke, of Milan. This prince, although an usurper, showed the greatest zeal in cherishing learning and art: in this course he followed alike his own inclination and the example of other Italian sovereigns. Learned men, poets and artists were invited to his court, and Leonardo, according to Vasari, recommended himself at first as a musician and improvisatore. The foundation of an academy of Art, the earliest establishment of the kind,[1] was soon intrusted to him: his works on Art[2] appear to have been composed for it; and the numerous scholars whom he formed in Milan bear testimony to his great efficiency in this institution.

Of the various undertakings conducted by Leonardo for Lodovico Sforza, we shall turn our attention to those only which have reference to the formative arts. Two are especially remarkable; they employed him during the greater part of his stay in Milan (till 1499). One was an equestrian statue, intended to have been cast in bronze, of colossal dimensions, in memory of Francesco Sforza, father of Lodo-

[1] [According to Richa, Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine (Firenze, 1754–1762), vol. viii. p. 191, the Florentine Academy is much older, since it dates from the time of Giotto.—Ed.]

[2] Trattato della Pittura. A great number of editions. The first appeared in Paris, 1651, with a Life of Leonardo, by Raphael Dufresne. The best is that of Rome, 1817; Gugl. Manzi. There are several French and German translations.

vico. Leonardo had made the profoundest anatomical studies for the horse. When the first model of the monument was finished, it was carried in a festal procession, as the most splendid part of the pomp, and was unfortunately broken. With unwearied patience Leonardo began a new one, but from the want of means—a want which pressed upon Lodovico in the latter years of his government—it was never cast; and when Milan was conquered by the French, in 1499, the model was made to serve as a target by the Gascon crossbowmen.

His second great work was the Last Supper, painted in the refectory of the convent of S. Maria delle Grazie, on a wall 28 feet in length, the figures being larger than life.[1] The fate of this inimitable picture is not less tragical than that of the statue. Had it been practicable, as Francis I. desired, to break down the wall and carry the painting into France, sixteen years after it was finished, it might have been preserved perhaps to our day. The determination of Leonardo to execute the work in oil-colours instead of fresco, in order to have the power of finishing the minutest details in so great an undertaking, appears to have been unfortunate. The convent, and probably the wall on which the picture is painted, were badly constructed, and the situation of the wall between the kitchen and refectory was far from favourable. An inundation, too, happened in Milan in 1500, owing to which the refectory remained for a time partly under water, and the bad masonry of the hall, already predisposed to damp, was completely ruined. From these and other circumstances the colours had entirely faded as early as the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1652 a door was broken open, under the figure of the Saviour, which destroyed the feet. Under a false pretext of giving it a coat of varnish, the picture was entirely painted over in 1726 by an unfortunate bungler named Belotti. In 1770 it was retouched a second time by a certain Mazza, from whose miserable work three heads only were saved. In 1796, when Napoleon led the French over the Alps, he gave express orders that the room should be respected. Succeeding generals disregarded these orders: the refectory was turned

[1] Gius. Bossi, Del Cenacolo di Lionardo da Vinci, Milano, 1810.—Goethe's Works, xxxix. 97.

into a stable, and afterwards into a magazine for hay, etc. Now, when the ruins of the picture only exist, a custode has been appointed, and a scaffolding erected to admit of closer examination—not of Leonardo's work, for almost all trace of it has disappeared, but of its sad vicissitudes and of the outrages which have been committed upon it.

As the original is all but lost to us, the cartoons which Leonardo sketched of the single heads, before he executed them in the large size, are of the greatest interest, as are also the copies executed for various other places, partly by his scholars, partly even under his own immediate direction. The cartoons are executed in black chalk, and slightly coloured: the Head of Christ is in the Brera at Milan; ten Heads of the Apostles, some of them of enchanting beauty, are in the collection of the King of Holland at the Hague; three others in private collections in England. Several slight sketches are in the Academy at Venice; an original drawing, a study for the whole composition, is in the Royal collection of drawings at Paris. Among the numerous more or less accurate copies, those by Marco d'Oggione, a scholar of Leonardo, are particularly distinguished; one of these in oil, the size of the original, was formerly in the Certosa at Pavia, and is at present in the Academy in London; another is in the refectory of the convent at Castellazzo, not far from Milan. There have been many modern attempts, aided by these materials, to restore the composition of Leonardo in a worthy manner; among these may be mentioned the engraving of Raphael Morghen, and (more especially) the cartoon of the Milanese painter Bossi, the size of the original, now in the Leuchtenberg gallery at Munich. From this cartoon Bossi painted a copy in oil, to be repeated in mosaic. The mosaic is in a church at Vienna. By these means a general idea at least of Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper has been preserved.

We perceive, in the first place, that the traditional style of composition handed down from an earlier period is adhered to; the assembled guests sit on the further side of a long narrow table, Christ being seated in the middle—the most dignified of all arrangements, unless we give up the idea of a repast, like, for example, Luca Signorelli and Fiesole, who

rather represented the Sacrament of the Eucharist. The arrangement seems, moreover, particularly suitable to the refectory of a convent, where the monks are seated exactly in the same manner, and where the picture, placed opposite to their tables, connects itself with their circle, but is exalted above them by the higher situation and greater size of the figures. This mode of composition, which betrayed the earlier artists into a disagreeably stiff and monotonous representation, and seems so unfavourable to the development of an animated action, is here enlivened in the most varied manner, while a most naturally imagined connection reduces it to an harmonious whole. The figure of Christ forms the centre; he sits in a tranquil attitude a little apart from the others; the Disciples are arranged three and three together, and they form two separate groups on each side of the Saviour. These four groups in their general treatment indicate a certain correspondence of emotion, and a harmony in movement, united however with the greatest variety in gesture and in the expression of the heads. The gradations of age, from the tender youth of John to the grey hairs of Simon; all the varied emotions of mind, from the deepest sorrow and anxiety to the eager desire of revenge, are here portrayed. The results of Leonardo's careful studies in physiognomy, the power of expressing a definite idea and *word* by means of the countenance and movements of the hand, are here displayed in highest mastery.

The well-known words of Christ, "One of you shall betray me," have caused the liveliest emotion in the sorrowing party. Christ himself, his hands extended, inclines his head gently on one side with downcast eyes. A sketch for the head of Christ, on a now torn and soiled piece of paper, preserved in the gallery of the Brera, expresses the most elevated seriousness, together with divine gentleness, pain on account of the faithless disciple, a full presentiment of his own death, and resignation to the will of the Father; it gives a faint idea of what the master may have accomplished in the finished picture. The two groups to the left of Christ are full of impassioned excitement, the figures in the first turning to the Saviour, those in the second speaking to each other; horror, astonish-

ment, suspicion, doubt, alternate in the various expressions: on the other hand, stillness, low whispers, indirect observation, are the prevailing expressions in the groups on the right. In the middle of the first group sits the betrayer, a cunning, sharp profile; he looks up hastily to Christ, as if speaking the words, "Rabbi, is it I?" while, true to the Scriptural account, his left hand and Christ's right hand approach, as if unconsciously, the dish that stands between them.

It has already been remarked that great uncertainty prevails about many of the works ascribed to Leonardo, and that by far the greater part are the works of his scholars. Leonardo could never satisfy himself; he painted slowly, and left many works unfinished, which is also accounted for by the many interruptions to his artistic life. Those ideas and conceptions, nevertheless, to which his mind gave birth, however slight in form, were sufficient to occupy the labours of a whole school, and to imprint on it the stamp of his genius. The entire series of his original inventions is only known by the works of his scholars. We shall in the following pages mention only the more important of them. Among the smaller pictures executed by Leonardo in Milan, the portraits of two ladies beloved by Lodovico Sforza, Cecilia Gallerani and Lucrezia Crivelli, are particularly celebrated; the first is said to be in Milan, the second in Paris. This latter is that earnest and exquisitely beautiful head called "La belle Ferronière."[1] Though bearing traces of that severe school which reminds us of the art of the fifteenth century, it is of unusual delicacy of modelling, and at the same time free from that artificial effect of chiaroscuro which belongs to the less pleasing side of Leonardo's school. In the collection of the Ambrosian Gallery at Milan is a series of very interesting small works. Among them may be distinguished the portraits of Lodovico and his wife painted in oil, in the early and rather severer manner of the artist: also some portraits sketched in crayons; among these, a Head of a Lady with downcast eyes is in the highest degree charming yet dignified. Also the half-length figure of a youthful John the Baptist (in the Louvre), belonging probably

[1] [Dan, in his Trésor de Fontainebleau, published in 1642, calls this a Duchess of Mantua. See Dr. Waagen, Kunstwerke in Paris, 1839.—Ed.]

to the earlier period of the master. A very decided effect of chiaroscuro is, however, here aimed at, with an expression of enthusiastic ecstasy, wrought up to a pitch which borders on the sentimental.

One of Leonardo's most famous pictures, La Carità—a mother with several children—also belongs to the period of his residence in Milan; it was formerly in the old gallery at Cassel, and is now come to light again, as it appears, in the gallery of the Hague. It formerly represented a naked figure of Leda, standing, with the two children—some scruples of decorum have converted it by over-paintings into a Charity.[1]

Besides these, there are many excellent originals by Leonardo in Milan and the surrounding country, as well as numerous copies of the same subjects by his scholars, which attest his full employment in that city. Among these latter is a Madonna and Child, formerly in the possession of the Araciel family. The Madonna holds the child with both hands; he reaches his hand to her chin, as if to kiss her; his face is still turned to the spectator, towards whom she also looks, as she bends down her head. The expression of the whole is fascinating, and the picture beautifully finished. A half-figure of a Mater Dolorosa, too, is grand and noble, with the most touching expression.[2]

[1] Rumohr (Drei Reisen in Italien, p. 70) says of this picture,—"In this work, of which I have a lively recollection, I distinctly recognise the scholar of Verocchio, and the companion of Lorenzo da Credi, whose children these much resemble; only that there is more intelligence here in every part—more depth of character and expression. In the countenances of the mother and the children, especially of the little one upon her arm, there is an expression of grief and longing which I cannot describe. The picture was called a Carità. Italian painters of later times have represented similar groups under the same name, but always in the form of a mother delighting in the blooming offspring around her. Leonardo, however, seems to have departed from this obvious sentiment. It was his nature to overlook that which lay nearest to him. He either intended, by the mournful and longing expression he has given to the group, to allude to the idea of the lost Paradise, or he had some other mystical thought in view, to which those who afterwards adopted the subject had lost the key. As far as I remember, this picture was painted in oil. For this reason, and also because Vasari makes no mention of it, I am inclined to consider it a production of his Milanese time. The opaque, violet, local colour of his carnation agrees with the portraits of Lodovico Sforza and his wife, which are in the Ambrosiana Gallery at Milan." See also a notice by Passavant, Kunstbl., 1844, p. 118.

[2] On both compositions, see Fumagalli, Scuola di Lionardo, &c., before quoted.

The composition of a Holy Family by Leonardo (la Vierge au bas relief) is frequently found repeated in this neighbourhood. The original, it appears, is in England. The Madonna holds the infant Christ on her lap, and embraces the little St. John, who kneels with folded hands to receive the blessing and caresses of Christ. In the background on the right stands Joseph, with folded arms; his aged head, with a somewhat exaggerated expression of joy, is finished to excess; on the left is Zacharias.[1] In the Hermitage at St. Petersburgh there is a similar composition, with the exception of the little St. John; a figure of St. Catherine is also introduced in the place of Zacharias. This latter picture was executed 1513, during Leonardo's later residence in Rome.

After the conquest of Milan, Leonardo returned to Florence, his native city, and remained there some years: to this period belong some important works. The first, executed directly after his arrival, a cartoon of the Holy Family (called the "Cartoon of St. Anna"), when publicly exhibited, was the admiration of the whole city. The Virgin is holding the child on her lap, who is turning towards the little Baptist. St. Anna, who is sitting by, is looking with ecstasy at the Virgin, and pointing upwards, as if to indicate the divine origin of the infant. The grace of the children, the blissful expression of the grandmother, and, above all, the lovely modesty and humility on the countenance of the Virgin, are wonderfully given. The original cartoon, executed in black chalk, and in good preservation, is in the Royal Academy in London.[2] Pictures by Leonardo's scholars, from this or some similar composition, are frequent. The best of them—gene-

[1] Passavant, Kunstreise, p. 111; engraved by Förster, 1835. A copy in the Brera at Milan is ascribed in Fumagalli's work to Cesare da Sesto.—[The picture above mentioned, formerly in the possession of Messrs. Woodburn, is now the property of the Earl of Warwick. One arm of the infant Christ (not of the Virgin) is round the St. John.—Ed.]

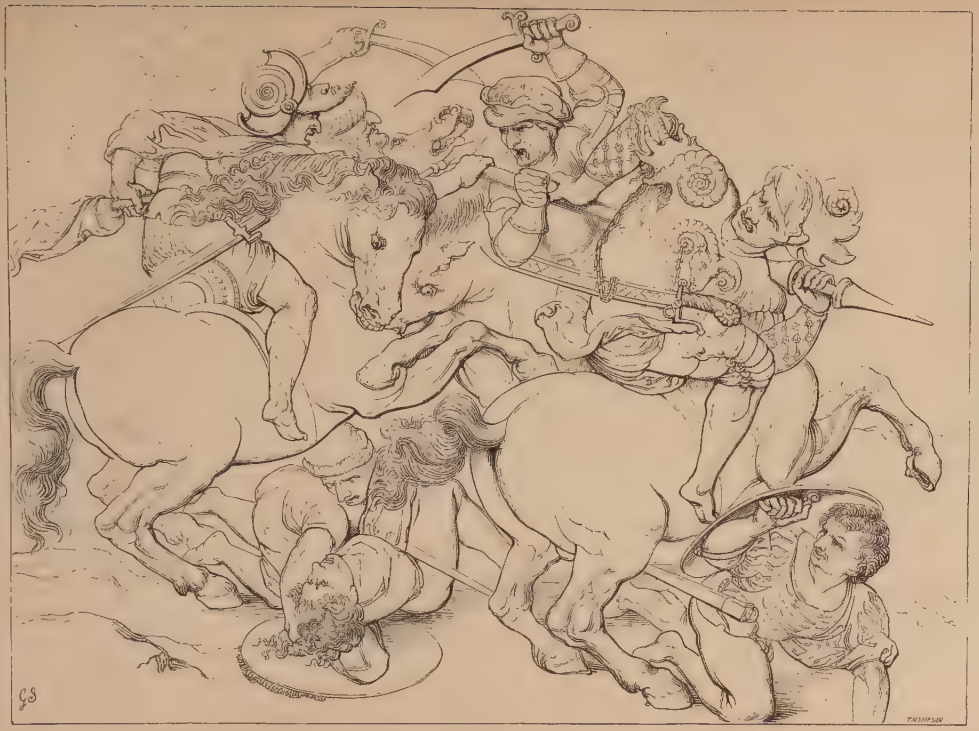
[2] [Parts of this drawing (for example, the lower portion of the figure of the infant Christ) have either been effaced by time, or were originally unfinished: the cartoon is now kept under a glass. The pictures to which the author alludes—no less than four exist in various collections—appear to have been done from a different composition; at all events Vasari's description corresponds only with the drawing in question. Hence the best connoisseurs have concluded that this is the cartoon which was so celebrated in Florence. See Dr. Waagen, Kunstwerke in Paris, p. 426.—Ed.]

rally, though erroneously, ascribed to Leonardo himself—is in the Louvre. Here the Virgin is seated on the lap of St. Anna—a playful, but at first sight strange representation of a sacred scene, which would lead to the conclusion that there was an affinity between the minds of Leonardo and Correggio. The well-known refined type of his female heads, with the small chin and the graceful smile, sometimes approaching to a coquettish expression, is rather mannered in this picture, though the original cartoon is free from all such tendency, and is of the highest nobility of sentiment.

A second larger cartoon, executed by Leonardo in Florence, and described as one of the greatest masterpieces of modern Art, shared the fate of his equestrian statue and Last Supper. It was a commission from the city, and executed in competition with Michael Angelo in the year 1503.[1] It was intended that paintings should be executed from them in the Palazzo Vecchio. Leonardo took for his subject the victory of the Florentines over Nicolo Picinnino, general of Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, in 1440, at Anghiari in Tuscany; Michael Angelo, a scene from the Pisan campaigns. The former chose the last yet doubtful moment of victory; the latter, that in which the battle is just beginning. When these masterly and highly finished cartoons were exhibited, the young artists poured in from all sides to make them their study, and they appear to have exercised a decided influence on the full development of modern Art. Both cartoons have perished: Rubens copied from Leonardo's a group of four horsemen fighting for a standard; this is engraved by Edelingk, and is just sufficient to make us bitterly deplore the loss of this rich and grand work.

Among the works which Leonardo executed in Florence is an Adoration of the Kings, of a large size, in the gallery of the Uffizj. It can only be called a cartoon, since the light brown dead-colour intended to indicate the masses of shadow is all that is finished. It is, however, a rich and beautifully arranged composition, in which the general excitement caused

[1] [They were not done precisely at the same time: Michael Angelo's was not completed and shown till 1506. See Passavant, Rafael von Urbino, i. 114.—Ed.]



Group from Leonardo da Vinci's celebrated cartoon, THE BATTLE OF THE STANDARD.

by the occasion is brought forward as the chief idea, in a new and masterly way. Some female portraits also belong to this time, one of which Vasari characterises as "divine," being that of Mona Lisa, wife of Giocondo, a friend of Leonardo's. This is in the Louvre—a picture of extraordinary loveliness and of exquisite finish. The painter worked at it for four years, and pronounced it still unfinished. Even in its present utterly ruined condition there is something in this wonderful head of the ripest southern beauty, with its airy background of a rocky landscape, which exercises a peculiar fascination over the mind. The hands of the lady are of the purest form and grace. There are several copies of it in galleries—one, for instance, is at Munich. To this period is also assigned a portrait of a celebrated old warrior in the Dresden Gallery, Giangiacomo Trivulzi, field-marshal of Louis XII. of France; but according to some authorities this is from the hand of the younger Holbein, and is supposed to represent a goldsmith of the name of Morett. We shall dwell further on this strange appearance of Holbein on the scene, which is not the only occasion on which we shall find him. The portrait of a beautiful woman with a child, in the Pommersfelden Gallery, belongs also to this period.

After Leonardo had for a series of years exercised his talents in Upper Italy, principally as an engineer, he proceeded, in 1513, to Rome, where, however, he did not long remain. To this time a Madonna, painted on the wall of the upper corridor of the convent of S. Onofrio, is said to belong. It is on a gold ground: the action of the Madonna is beautiful, displaying the noblest form, and the expression of the countenance is peculiarly sweet; but the Child, notwithstanding its graceful action, is somewhat hard and heavy, so as almost to warrant the conclusion that this picture belongs to an earlier period, which would suppose a previous visit to Rome.

One of Leonardo's most beautiful pictures is in Rome, in the Sciarra palace—two female half-figures of Modesty and Vanity. The former, with a veil over her head, is a particularly pleasing, noble profile, with a clear, open expression; she beckons to her sister, who stands fronting the spectator,

beautifully arrayed, and with a sweet seducing smile. This picture is remarkably powerful in colouring and wonderfully finished, but, unfortunately, has become rather dark in the shadows.[1] Another half-figure of Vanity, with uncovered bosom and flowers in her hand, an extremely finished picture, formerly in the collection of the Prince of Orange at Brussels, now probably at the Hague.[2]

Another and very beautiful composition of Leonardo's, executed probably by Luini, representing Christ with the Doctors (also half-length figures), has migrated from the Palazzo Aldobrandini in Rome to the National Gallery in London. Christ is here represented as a youth of great beauty, serenity, and depth of expression; the heads of the Doctors also are full of life and character. Many copies of this picture exist; one of the finest is in the Spada palace at Rome.

In 1516 Leonardo was invited to the court of Francis I. It is uncertain whether the following pictures, now in Paris, belong to this or to an earlier period:—for example, the charming portrait called La Belle Ferronière, the reputed mistress of Francis I., but which, according to another opinion, is that of Lucrezia Crivelli:—the beautiful Holy Family, known by the name of La Vierge aux Rochers; in this the Virgin kneels in a romantic rocky scene; the infant Christ is before her, held by an angel; the little St. John, whom she embraces, is adoring: this picture is of a simple, graceful character, but is unhappily much injured. The somewhat weak and hard composition is sufficient, however, to show that this is not the original picture.[3] Another Holy Family, in which the Archangel Michael is extending the scales to the infant Saviour (la Vierge aux Balances), was probably executed by Marco d'Oggione. The so-called portrait of Charles VIII. is probably by Antonio Beltraffio, and a sitting Bacchus in a landscape (originally, perhaps, St. John the Baptist) by

[1] Fumagalli (Scuola di Lionardo) ascribes this picture to Luini. According to Rumohr, it was painted by Salai, in conjunction with his master.—Drei Reisen, p. 316.

[2] Passavant, Kunstreise, p. 393.

[3] [Probably painted by some scholar from a design by Leonardo. Several repetitions exist. See Dr. Waagen, Kunstwerke in Paris, p. 426.—Ed.]

some other scholar. Finally, a small Madonna with both the children can in no way be attributed to Leonardo, but is probably entirely by Perino del Vaga. A youthful Christ in the act of benediction, of the sweetest expression, is in the Borghese palace at Rome: it is a good Milanese school specimen.

Leonardo died in the year 1519—according to a story not well authenticated—in the arms of the king, who had come to visit the beloved artist in his last illness.[1]

Before we proceed to speak of the scholars formed by Leonardo in the Milanese Academy, we must notice some artists who belong properly to a former period, but on whose later education he exercised a decided influence. One of these, Piero di Cosimo, a scholar of Cosimo Rosselli, was a rival of Leonardo in his early Florentine time. In Piero's pictures there is an evident desire to measure himself with his great contemporary: he is occasionally successful in chiaroscuro, but is totally deficient in the nobleness of feeling so striking in Leonardo. His principal works are in Florence. An altar-picture, done for the church Agli Innocenti, is now in the small gallery of that institution; another is in the gallery of the Uffizj. A Coronation of the Virgin also is in the Louvre. The artist is described as a man given up to gloomy fancies, and this character is impressed upon his works, especially in those small pictures in the Uffizj which represent the history of Perseus. His landscape backgrounds are generally very excellent. There is a good picture of his in the Berlin Museum,—a recumbent Venus playing with Love, a sleeping Mars in the background. The same fantastic character is here visible, but united with a soft and occasionally beautiful execution.

[1] [This story having been repeated since it was shown to be unfounded, it may be as well once more to give the grounds on which it has been doubted. Leonardo died at Cloux, near Amboise, May 2, 1519. According to the journal of Francis I., preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, the Court was on that day at St. Germain en Laye. Francesco Melzi, in a letter written to Leonardo's relations immediately after his death, makes no mention of the circumstance in question. Lastly, Lomazzo, who communicated so much respecting the life of the great artist, distinctly says that the king first learned the death of Leonardo from Melzi. See Amoretti, Memorie, etc., Milan, 1804, and the notes to the last Florentine edition (1838) of Vasari.—Ed.]

Lorenzo di Credi was a contemporary of Leonardo in the school of Andrea Verocchio, but followed less the manner of his master than that of his companion. He has copied some of Leonardo's pictures most successfully. His original subjects are generally limited to the narrow circle of tranquil Madonnas and Holy Families; these he painted in a simple, graceful manner, with occasionally something of the style of Perugino. There are some excellent pictures by him in the gallery of the Uffizj;—for example, two beautiful circular pictures of the Madonna adoring the Infant; and more especially three others with smaller figures—the Madonna and St. John, Christ as a gardener with Mary Magdalen, and the Woman of Samaria at the Well;—all expressive of the deepest feeling, with excellent colouring and exquisite execution. His principal work is a Nativity, in the Academy at Florence, of larger size, which unites in the happiest manner the style of Perugino with the freer feeling of the Florentines. In the Cathedral of Pistoja is a charming Madonna with two saints; the background composed of architecture, flowers, and landscape. Of all the foreign galleries the Berlin Museum possesses the best pictures by this master.

Giovanni Antonio Sogliani was a scholar and successful imitator of Lorenzo. Some of his Madonnas, of a pleasing, mild character, are in the Florence Academy. An excellent copy, by him, of Lorenzo di Credi's Nativity, is in the Berlin Museum.

To these may be added a less distinguished artist, Giuliano Bugiardini, who in most of his works appears in like manner as an imitator of Leonardo, but who only attained a weak resemblance to his milder expressions. There are specimens of his works in the Gallery at Bologna and in the Berlin Museum.

The distinguishing qualities o Leonardo were variously repeated by his scholars, according to their own individual peculiarities. Although none attained to his eminence, a certain amiable and pure spirit, reflected from his noble mind, pervades the whole school. This spirit seems to have preserved his followers from falling into the unmeaning style, and mere academic ostentation, which characterize almost all

the schools founded by the other great masters of the time. The principal works of Leonardo's scholars are collected in Milan, particularly in the gallery of the Brera; among these the frescoes taken from suppressed convents are the most interesting.[1] The most remarkable and the best known of his scholars are the following.

Foremost among them stands Bernardino Luini (or di Luvino, a village on the Lago Maggiore), a master whose excellence has been by no means sufficiently acknowledged. It is true he rarely rises to the greatness and freedom of Leonardo; but he has a never-failing tenderness and purity, a cheerfulness and sincerity, a grace and feeling, which give an elevated pleasure to the student of his works. That spell of beauty and nobleness which so exclusively characterizes the more important works of the Raphaelesque period has here impelled a painter of comparatively inferior talent to works which may often rank with the highest which we know. The spirit of Leonardo, especially, was so largely imbibed by Luini, that his latest works are generally ascribed to Leonardo. This was the case for a long time with the enchanting half-length figure of the Infant Baptist playing with the Lamb in the Ambrosian Gallery at Milan, and also with the delicate picture of Herodias in the Tribune of the Uffizj at Florence. The same may be said of a still more remarkable and extremely beautiful picture—the Madonna between S. Catherine and S. Barbara in the Esterhazy Gallery at Vienna. This still bears Leonardo's name. Excellent judges do not hesitate even to ascribe those compositions which have become so celebrated under Leonardo's name—the Christ disputing with the Doctors, and the pictures of Vanity and Modesty—to Luini, and that not only in the execution, but in the invention also. Otherwise the difference between his hand and that of the great master is seen in the great inferiority of his execution, especially in his modelling, and also in a greater universality of expression, which, compared with Leonardo's type, displays a close study of the Raphaelesque ideal. Luini's colouring is fresh, even in his frescoes, while, on the other hand, he does

[1] See Passavant, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der alten Maler Schulen in der Lombardei,' in Kunstbl. 1838, No. 69 and further.

not seem to have understood the secret of harmonious composition. Milan is rich in the works of Luini—the Ambrosian library, the Brera, and the private collections possess treasures of graceful easel pictures. In the cathedral at Como, besides an excellent altar-piece, there are two distemper pictures on canvas—an Adoration of the Shepherds, and an Adoration of the Kings, with single figures of the most exquisite youthful beauty. But Luini is seen to most advantage in his frescoes, the greater part of which have accrued to the Brera Gallery from the walls of the suppressed churches of La Pace, and the convent della Pelucca—the former representing events from the life of the Virgin, the latter classic subjects, handled in a more decorative manner, but full of nature. Still more excellent are his frescoes from Ovid's Metamorphoses, which are now preserved in the Casa Silva at Milan. In Luini's later works, on the other hand, a noble and mature strength developed itself; among these may be mentioned an excellent altar-piece, dated 1521, representing the Madonna enthroned, surrounded by saints; it was taken from the church of the Brera, and placed in the Gallery. The numerous works in the Monastero Maggiore (S. Maurizio), the altar-wall in the inner church (with the exception of the old altar-picture), and a chapel, are painted by him. Here we have the most beautiful figures of female saints, admirable heads of Christ, and lovely infant angels. From the dado, painted in brown chiaroscuro, to the roof, the walls are covered with masterly frescoes, and the spectator can scarcely gaze his fill in this lavish display of fancy. On the wall above the entrance to the choir is a large composition representing the Crucifixion, containing about 140 figures; among which a group around the fainting figure of the Virgin, the fine form of the Centurion, those of the soldiers dividing the garments, and the Magdalen kneeling in ecstasy, are particularly remarkable. The painter, however, has attained the highest perfection in his figure of St. John, whose action and expression are full of the loftiest inspiration and faith. Single figures also of great beauty are still preserved upon the different piers and walls of the church. There is also a very graceful Madonna in a lunette over the door of the Refectory, and a Last Supper in the Refectory

itself, much resembling Leonardo's, but not a copy of it (perhaps not even the work of Luini). The frescoes executed by Luini in the church at Sarono, about the year 1530,[1] are not less distinguished; these represent the history of the Virgin. Life is here painted in its most cheerful splendour, and yet with sincerest feeling; the Adoration of the Kings is particularly rich in its invention, noble in style, and delicately conceived; it is also the best preserved.

Aurelio Luini, son of Bernardino, is considerably inferior to his father; he is in general an unpleasing mannerist. His Martyrdom of St. Vincenzio, in the Brera, is a sufficient example—a large fresco, interesting only as the result of a successful experiment to transfer a fresco-painting to canvas.

Marco d' Oggione.—A clever painter in Leonardo's style, but wanting both the power of the master and the fascinating sweetness and deeper charm of Bernardino Luini; a cold tone of colour prevails throughout his works. His frescoes in the Brera, taken from S. Maria della Pace, are not very important; they generally want repose in composition, and are trivial in detail. Among his easel-pictures, on the contrary, some possess a beautiful, calm dignity, particularly the Three Archangels in the Brera, in which the drawing of the figures and bland expression of the countenances well deserve attention—a good Holy Family in the Louvre, and an altar-piece in S. Eufemia at Milan. His copies of Leonardo's Last Supper have been already mentioned.

Andrea Salaino (Salai) resembles d'Oggione, with more freedom, more power and warmth of colouring. One of his principal works is in the Brera—a Madonna and Child, to whom St. Peter delivers the keys; St. Paul stands behind. The picture is not important in composition, but is distinguished by its unconstrained action, after Leonardo's manner. His painting from Leonardo's cartoon of S. Anna deserves particular commendation; this also is in the Brera. Salaino's carnations have usually a red, warm, transparent tone.

Giovan Antonio Beltraffio.—Gentleness is the characteristic of this artist; his drawing, however, is somewhat timid and

[1] With respect to the year, see Rumohr, Drei Reisen, etc., p. 309.

dry, thus indicating an affinity with the old Milanese school. His principal work is an altar-picture, painted for S. Maria della Misericordia at Bologna, and now in the Louvre—a Madonna and Child, between John the Baptist and St. Sebastian, with the donors kneeling: the latter are very beautiful; the St. Sebastian is simple and noble; the Madonna, on the contrary, is rather constrained. A S. Barbara, by the same artist, is in the Berlin Museum,—a figure of peculiarly grand, statue-like dignity.

Francesco Melzi.—A noble Milanese (as was the artist last-mentioned) and a friend of Leonardo. His pictures are little known; they are said to bear a strong resemblance to Leonardo's, and to be frequently mistaken for them. In the castle of Vaprio (one of the possessions of the Melzi) is a colossal fresco of a Madonna and Child, a very grand work, probably by him. A Pomona and Vertumnus, in the Berlin Museum, formerly ascribed to Leonardo, now bears the name of Francesco. Vertumnus, in the form of an old woman, is rudely overpainted: the figure of Pomona, on the other hand, is well preserved, and is the finest specimen of a motive which repeatedly occurs in this school.

Cesare da Sesto.—A more important artist, who at a later period is found in the school of Raphael at Rome, and was on friendly terms with that master. His early works are pleasing, and resemble Leonardo's; in his later we observe some of the peculiarities of the Roman school, which, however, do not combine quite happily with those of the Milanese. Among the former is a youthful Head of Christ, in the Ambrosian library at Milan, of very bland and unaffected expression, simply and beautifully painted; also a beautiful Baptism of Christ, in the house of Duke Scotti at Milan, an excellent picture, with a rich and very elaborate landscape. The latter is by the landscape-painter Bernazzano, who often painted in this manner with Cesare. In the Manfrini gallery at Venice are two Madonnas, and, as they are painted in the two styles above alluded to, they afford interesting points of comparison. A large altar-piece, representing the Madonna, with St. Roch, St. Christopher, and St. Sebastian, and displaying certain Raphaelesque tendencies, is in Duke Melzi's collection at

Milan. Other pictures are in the Belvedere palace at Vienna. One of the largest pictures of Cesare's later time, an Adoration of the Kings, with many figures, is in the Museo Borbonico at Naples. The Madonna and Child are in Leonardo's manner, the other figures in Raphael's; but it is overladen in the composition, and displays that degenerate mannerism which soon crept in among the scholars of Raphael.

Gaudenzio Vinci of Novara.—An altar-picture at Arona near Milan, distinguished by nobleness of mien and truth of expression. It leans to the manner of Perugino and Francia.[1]

Other school contemporaries, of whom little certain or remarkable is known, were Pietro Riccio (Gianpedrino?)—a St. Catherine between two wheels, in the Berlin Museum, is his; Girolamo Alibrando of Messina; Bernardino Fassalo of Pavia; and, finally, Bernardo Zenale, a scholar of the elder Vincenzio Civerchio, who later so devoted himself to Leonardo's manner, that a Madonna with Angels, now in the Brera, long passed for a work of the master.

Another Milanese of this time is Gaudenzio Ferrari, properly speaking a Piedmontese from Valdugga[2] (1484–1549). This artist, strictly speaking, is not a scholar of Leonardo; he appears to have proceeded from the old school of Milan, which maintained itself till the beginning of the sixteenth century. For some time also he studied in Perugino's atelier, but the influence of Leonardo is not to be mistaken. Like Cesare da Sesto, he worked at a later period under Raphael at Rome, and imbibed a great deal of the manner of that

[1] Schorn. in the Tüb. Kunstblatt, 1823, p. 2. There is a picture in the Manfrini palace in Venice attributed to Perugino (formerly, it appears, to Luini); the date inscribed on it is 1500: it is probably a work by Gaudenzio. It represents Christ Washing the Feet of his Disciples. The arrangement is solemn and beautiful; the apostles are simply ranged next each other; on the left Peter sits at the basin, at the right Christ kneels, behind him John holds the napkin. The folds of the drapery are partly Peruginesque, partly in the manner of the old Venetian schools. In the heads the styles of the Umbrian and Venetian schools are mixed with that of Leonardo, or rather Luini; one youthful head is painted quite in the graceful manner of the latter. On the school of Leonardo generally, see Passavant in the Tüb. Kunstblatt, 1838, No. 69, etc.

[2] See 'Le Opere del pittore e plasticatore Gaudenzio Ferrari, dis. ed inc. da Sylvestro Pianazzi, dir. e descr. da G. Bordiga,' Milano, 1835.

school. Together with this union of different influences, he had a peculiarly fantastic style of his own. It distinguishes him from his contemporaries, and, although never quite free from mannerism, it was the source of characteristic beauties. Gaudenzio was one of the most prolific painters of his time, and has bequeathed a quantity of frescoes to posterity, which, in point of freshness of colour, are scarcely inferior to those of Luini, and might be studied in various ways with benefit by the present fresco-painters. His oil-paintings also are distinguished for depth and clearness (not for harmony) of colour, also for intensity of expression, and for great animation and fulness of composition, although he is deficient in the nobler simplicity of the great masters. An early work of the highest merit, which shows the same affinity to Leonardo which his countryman Razzi (of Vercelli) displays, is in the Royal Gallery at Turin; it represents the group lamenting over the Dead Christ. An altar-piece in the new sacristy of the cathedral of Novara, a Martyrdom of St. Catherine in the Brera at Milan (a work of the most masterly freedom), a Visitation in the Solly collection, and a particularly beautiful Madonna with angels and saints, under an orange-tree, in the choir of S. Cristoforo in the cathedral at Vercelli, belong to his best easel pictures. On the other hand, two pictures in distemper in the cathedral at Como, with all their power, are negligent and mannered. In the gallery of the Brera are several frescoes by him, principally taken from S. Maria della Pace. Of these, three pictures representing the history of Joachim and Anna (the parents of the Virgin[1]) are well worthy of notice. The side pictures contain the history of the couple after their separation. That on the left is peculiarly beautiful, where St. Anna is seen sitting, enduring the reproaches of her maid; both excellent and nobly drawn figures. The centre picture represents the consolation which is granted to them. A rich city (Jerusalem) is in the background; a stream of water which flows on to the foreground divides the picture into two subjects. On the one side stands Anna, on the other Joachim with the shepherds, both looking

[1] [See the Flos Sanctorum.—Ed.]

up at the angels who announce their salvation. In the background, before the gates of the city, the couple meet and embrace. The grand freedom of the conception, combined with the dignity of the representation, makes this work particularly attractive. The frescoes with which Gaudenzio decorated the celebrated Piedmontese place of pilgrimage, Varallo, are, however, his most comprehensive work. In the chapel of the Sacro Monte he represented the Crucifixion in a large composition, the principal figures being in relief and coloured like nature. Behind this the walls are painted with a number of figures as spectators; the women in the beautiful Luinesque manner, the warriors on horseback in fantastic knightly costume. Many figures, however, are somewhat extravagant and naturalistic. On the vaulted ceiling are eighteen angels lamenting, some of them of the finest expression. In the convent of the Minorites he painted, as early as 1507, a Presentation in the Temple, and a Christ among the Doctors; and after 1510, the History of Christ in twenty-one pictures. These have all more or less affinity with Leonardo. The same may be said of a Madonna in six compartments, the so-called Ancona di S. Gaudenzio. His later works are more indicative of the school of Raphael: for example, an Adoration in a lunette of S. Maria di Loreto, not far from Varallo, executed after 1527. The Refectory of S. Paolo at Vercelli contains a Last Supper, which, though so greatly inferior, shows the unavoidable influence of Leonardo. Assisted by his scholar Lanini (see further), Gaudenzio painted (1532–1535) the transept of the church of S. Cristoforo. The Birth, Annunciation, and Visitation of the Virgin, the Adoration of the Shepherds and of the Kings, the Crucifixion, and the Assumption of the Virgin, are by his own hand: all of these are pictures full of life and of the greatest decision of character, though here and there coarse and tinged with mannerism. In the church of Saronno, not far from Milan, he decorated (1535) the cupola with a glory of angels; those below large and draped, those above naked winged boys, many of them of the highest beauty, after the style of Leonardo, others very mannered, with indications of Correggio's influence. Gaudenzio's last and larger work, a

Scourging of Christ, in S. Maria delle Grazie at Milan (1542), exhibits peculiar power and freedom.

FOLLOWERS OF GAUDENZIO FERRARI.

Bernardino Lanini.—Not very important, nor free from a degenerate mannerism, but with some pleasing reminiscences of Leonardo's school. A Last Supper, at S. Nazaro Grande at Milan, is of this kind, and an altar-picture in the Berlin Museum. A Sposalizio, also, in S. Cristoforo at Vercelli, is by him (of more antiquated and Peruginesque conception); as are several much-injured paintings of scenes from the life of Mary Magdalen, and also the wedding of an aristocratic and elderly pair, distinguished by great nature and animation. Besides these may be mentioned an excellent Madonna with saints, and another in S. Giuliano.

Andrea Solario combined most gracefully Gaudenzio's mode of conception with Leonardo's expression and more refined feeling for form. A Madonna with the Child, in the Louvre, was, perhaps, executed after a drawing by Leonardo; a daughter of Herodias is in the same collection. A beautiful and mild Christ, bearing his cross, is in the Berlin Museum; an Assumption of the Virgin with saints, in the new sacristy of the Certosa at Pavia; a beautiful Madonna with the Child, hitherto called a Leonardo, in the gallery at Pommersfelden.

Giovanni Battista Cerva.—Unimportant.

His scholar, Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, resembles Lanini. He has great merit as a writer on Art ('Trattato della Pittura,' 1584. 'Idea del Tempio della Pittura,' 1590).

Ambrogio Figino, scholar of Lomazzo.—A weak and mannered imitator of the early styles.

CHAPTER II.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONAROTTI AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

In the year 1474, twenty-two years later than Leonardo da Vinci, was born Michael Angelo Buonarotti.[1] Like Leonardo he led the way in accomplishing the perfection of modern Art, and shone as one of its brightest lights; but Michael Angelo lived to witness its rapid decline, and died at a very advanced age in 1563. Like Leonardo, his talents were universal; he was at once architect, sculptor, painter, and equally great in each art. He was an excellent poet[2] and musician, conversant in science, and a profound anatomist. To the study of anatomy alone he devoted twelve years, and produced results evincing the highest possible mastery. A proud, stern spirit gave its peculiar impress alike to the actions and works of Michael Angelo—a spirit which valued its own independence above all, and knew how to embody its profound thoughts in distinct creations without having recourse to the symbolic veil. His figures, if I may so speak, have a certain mysterious architectural grandeur; they are the expression of primæval strength, which stamps them, whether in motion or in rest, with a character of highest energy, of intensest will.

Michael Angelo began his career as an artist in the school of Domenico Ghirlandajo, but soon, influenced by inclination and external circumstances, he turned to the study and practice of sculpture. His first important work in the department

[1] Giorgio Vasari, Vita del gran Michelagnolo Buonarotti, Firenze, 1568 (a separate impression of the Life of M. Angelo in Vasari's great work); Later edition, Roma, 1760 (aggiuntevi copiose note).—Ascanio Condivi: Vita di Michel Angelo Buonarroti, Roma, 1553; Seconda edizione accresciuta, Firenze, 1746; New edition, Pisa, 1823.—Quatremère de Quincy: Hist. de Michel-Angel. Buonarotti, Paris, 1835.—Compare: Beschreibung der Stadt Rom. bd. ii. abth. 2, p. 254, ff. etc.—Outlines in Landon: Vies et Œuvres, etc. t. Michel Ange Buonarotti.—Catalogue of engravings after Michael Angelo, in the Nachrichten von Kunstlern und Kunstsachen, Leipzig, 1768, band i. p. 355, &c. [Duppa, the Life of Michel Angelo Buonarroti, with his Poetry and Letters, London, 1807.—Ed.]

[2] [The spirit of Michael Angelo's poetry has been lately rendered accessible to the English reader in a translation of select specimens, accompanied by an enlightened introductory dissertation, by Mr. John Edward Taylor.—Ed.]

of painting, the cartoon already mentioned, which he executed in emulation of the more practised Leonardo da Vinci, appeared when he had only just attained the fulness of manhood (1504). For the history of this competition we refer the reader to our last chapter. Michael Angelo's cartoon is also lost (it is said to have been destroyed by Baccio Bandinelli, one of his rivals), but the greater part of the composition is known to us by some old engravings and copies.[1] Michael Angelo chose for his subject the commencement of the battle, and, as appears from the existing copies, the moment when a crowd of Florentine soldiers, bathing in the Arno, unexpectedly hear the summons to conflict. This choice enabled the artist to display in full and lively development his knowledge of the human form. All is in movement: the warriors, some already clothed, some half or wholly naked, crowd hastily together; some clamber up the steep shore from the river, others press their naked limbs into their tight clothing, others again fully armed hasten to join the combat. In the opinion of his contemporaries,[2] Michael Angelo never again created a work so perfect; but this opinion appears to refer principally to the execution. These cartoons, as already observed, had a considerable influence on the progress of the younger contemporaries of the two great masters.

In the next succeeding years Michael Angelo was again employed on a great work in sculpture,[3] having been invited to Rome by Pope Julius II., and intrusted with the execution of a splendid monument, of which, however, only a small portion was ultimately finished. The Pope himself was the principal cause of the interruption, for, independently of frequent misunderstandings on the subject of the monument which had arisen between him and the artist, he had con-

[1] Single figures and groups of the cartoon, some known by the title of "The Climbers" (Les Grimpeurs), exist in different engravings by Marc-Antonio and Agostino da Venezia. An old copy of the principal part of the composition, painted in oil in chiaroscuro, is at Holkham, in the possession of the Earl of Leicester.—See Passavant, Kunstreise, etc., p. 194. Engraved by Schiavonetti: Reveil, 541.

[2] See particularly Vita di Benvenuto Cellini, i. 2.

[3] [Michael Angelo's principal works in sculpture, prior to the period in question, were the David and the group of the Pietà; by no means such extensive undertakings as the proposed monument.—Ed.]

A portion of Michael Angelo's celebrated cartoon—SOLDIERS BATHING IN THE ARNO.

ceived the idea of employing him to paint in fresco the ceiling of the Sistine chapel, which had hitherto remained unadorned.[1] Michael Angelo at first wished to decline this commission, which would necessarily interrupt the work already in progress, and probably did not feel himself quite equal to the execution of a work in fresco. As the Pope, however, earnestly insisted, he began this immense undertaking in 1508, and completed it, without assistance, in the space of three years.[2] In the commencement he had sent for some former fellow-scholars and friends from Florence to execute some of the paintings from his cartoons, perhaps also to learn from them the practice of fresco-painting, in which he had had little experience. Their work, however, proved unsatisfactory: he sent them home again, obliterated what they had begun, and finished the work alone.

The ceiling of the Sistine chapel[3] contains the most perfect works done by Michael Angelo in his long and active life. Here his great spirit appears in its noblest dignity, in its highest purity; here the attention is not disturbed by that arbitrary display to which his great power not unfrequently seduced him in other works. The ceiling forms a flattened arch in its section; the central portion, which is a plane surface, contains a series of large and small pictures, representing the most important events recorded in the book of Genesis—the Creation and Fall of Man, with its immediate consequences. In the large triangular compartments at the springing of the vault are sitting figures of the prophets and sibyls as the foretellers of the coming of the Saviour.[4] In the

[1] [Vasari relates that Pope Julius II. wished to have the works of the earlier masters destroyed, but adds that Michael Angelo suffered them to remain from a desire to show the improvement that had taken place in the Art since they were done. Among the great artist's reasons, we may fairly include his respect for the feelings of the artists, several of whom were still living. He may also have been influenced (see a subsequent note) by the nature of the subjects, which, in their general order and import, were capable of being combined with the plan he contemplated.—Ed.]

[2] According to concurrent testimony, M. Angelo was employed but twenty-two months on these paintings; but it is impossible that the execution of the cartoons can be included in this short period; hence the above assumption.

[3] [On the general arrangement and connection of the subjects in the Cappella Sistina, see the note at the end of this chapter.—Ed.]

[4] The Sibyls, according to the legends of the middle ages, stand next in

soffits of the recesses between these compartments, and in the arches underneath, immediately above the windows, are the ancestors of the Virgin, the series leading the mind directly to the Saviour. The external connexion of these numerous representations is formed by an architectural framework of peculiar composition which encloses the single subjects, tends to make the principal masses conspicuous, and gives to the whole an appearance of that solidity and support so necessary, but so seldom attended to, in soffit decorations, which may be considered as if suspended. A great number of figures are also connected with the framework; those in unimportant situations are executed in the colour of stone or bronze; in the more important, in natural colours. They serve to support the architectural forms, to fill up and to connect the whole. They may be best described as the living and embodied *genii* of architecture. It required the united power of an architect, sculptor, and painter to conceive a structural whole of so much grandeur, to design the decorative figures with the significant repose required by their sculpturesque character, and yet to preserve their subordination to the principal subjects, and to keep the latter in the proportions and relations best adapted to the space to be filled. Many artists at a later period have made the like attempt, particularly Annibal Caracci, in the Farnese palace, but none have seized and carried

dignity to the Prophets of the Old Testament. It was their office to foretel the coming of the Saviour to the heathen, as it was that of the Prophets to announce him to the Jews.

[The Sibyls are alluded to by Greek, Roman, and Jewish writers, and by most of the Christian fathers. The latter, on the authority of Varro, enumerate ten of these prophetesses. (See Lactantius, De Falsâ Religione, i. 6.) The authority of the Sibylline writings with the pagans soon suggested the pious fraud of interpolating them; the direct allusions to the Messiah which they contain are supposed to have been inserted in the second century. (See Blondel, Des Sibylles Célèbres.) But notwithstanding the occasional expression of some suspicion as to their authenticity, these spurious predictions continued to be held in veneration not only during the middle ages, but even to a comparatively modern date, and the Sibyls were represented in connexion with Scripture subjects before and after Michael Angelo's time by various painters. The circumstance of their appearing in works of art as equal in rank with the Prophets may have arisen from the manner in which St. Augustine (De Civit. Dei, xviii. 47) speaks of the Erythræan Sibyl's testimony, immediately before he adverts to that of the Prophets of the Old Testament. The fullest of the numerous dissertations on the Sibyls is, perhaps, that of Clasen (De Oraculis Gentilium, Helmstad. 1673).—Ed.]

Figure from the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel page 303

out the idea of the whole with the same natural and consistent connexion.

The scenes from Genesis in the flat space of the roof are the most sublime representations of these subjects;—the Creating Spirit is unveiled before us. The peculiar type which the painter has here given of the form of the Almighty Father has been frequently imitated by his followers, and even by Raphael, but has been surpassed by none. Michael Angelo has represented him in majestic flight, sweeping through the air, surrounded by *genii*, partly supporting, partly borne along with him, covered by his floating drapery; they are the distinct syllables, the separate virtues of his creating word.—In the first [large] compartment we see him with extended hands assigning to the sun and moon their respective paths.—In the second, he awakens the first man to life. Adam lies stretched on the verge of the earth in the act of raising himself; the Creator touches him with the point of his finger, and appears thus to endow him with feeling and life. This picture displays a wonderful depth of thought in the composition, and the utmost elevation and majesty in the general treatment and execution.—The third subject is not less important, representing the Fall of Man and his Expulsion from Paradise. The tree of knowledge stands in the middle, the serpent (the upper part of the body being that of a woman)[1] is twined round the stem; she bends down toward the guilty pair, who are in the act of plucking the forbidden fruit. The figures are nobly graceful, particularly that of Eve. Close to the serpent hovers the angel with the sword, ready to drive

[1] [Michael Angelo's feeling for beauty led him to combine the human and serpentine forms more agreeably than preceding painters had contrived this. His Tempter somewhat resembles the classic ocean deities, or, more literally, Hesiod's Echidna: but the serpent with a female head occurs in much earlier representations of the Fall; among others, in that by Pietro d'Orvieto in the Campo Santo at Pisa, and still earlier in illuminated MSS. In the woodcuts imitated from these in the printed copies of the Speculum Salvationis and other compendiums of the kind, the serpent is sometimes winged, and the female head is adorned with a crown. The first chapter of the work just named contains the following passage:—"Quoddam ergo genus serpentis sibi dyabolus eligebat, qui cum erectus gradiebatur et *caput virgineum* habebat." This fable is given nearly in the same words by Comestor (Historia Scholastica), a writer of the twelfth century, with the addition, "ut ait Beda," so that it is at least as old as the eighth.—Ed.]

the fallen beings out of Paradise. In this double action, this union of two separate moments, there is something peculiarly poetic and significant: it is guilt and punishment in one picture. The sudden and lightning-like appearance of the avenging angel behind the demon of darkness has a most impressive effect.—The fourth, a representation of the Deluge, with many figures, is one of the most extensive dramatic compositions of Michael Angelo. The four small intermediate compartments, representing the Almighty separating Light from Darkness, the Creation of Eve, the Thanksgiving of Noah, and the Inebriation of Noah, all display great and peculiar beauties.[1]

The prophets and sibyls in the triangular compartment of the curved portion of the ceiling are the largest figures in the whole work; these, too, are among the most wonderful forms that modern art has called into life. They are all represented seated, employed with books or rolled manuscripts; genii stand near or behind them. These mighty beings sit before us pensive, meditative, inquiring, or looking upwards with inspired countenances. Their forms and movements, indicated by the grand lines and masses of the drapery, are

[1] [There are *five* smaller subjects (see the accompanying engraving); the one omitted by the author is the Gathering of the Waters (Gen. i. 9). Although these compartments are relatively small, some of them contain figures larger than life: on the other hand, in one of the large subjects—the Deluge—the figures are so small, owing to their number, that the composition can scarcely be distinguished from below (and must always have been indistinct, making every allowance for the injuries of time). The same may be said of the two subjects next it, the Sacrifice of Noah, and the same patriarch derided by Ham. These three subjects are the last in order at that end of the flat portion of the ceiling which is next the door; the figures toward the other end are colossal. This difference might be partly accounted for by supposing the subjects with small figures to have been the first done, when the painter, finding that they produced no effect from below, changed the dimensions as we see to satisfy the eye. That Michael Angelo really began at this end of the ceiling appears from an incidental statement of Condivi relating to the disgust which the great artist felt from a temporary alteration of the colours (and partly, perhaps, from the defect to which we allude). The biographer says, "having commenced the undertaking and completed the painting of the Deluge, the surface of the fresco began to exhibit a mouldy efflorescence," etc. It is true it would have been difficult to represent such a subject as the Deluge with very few figures, and the greatest number in the compositions of larger treatment is six (the double subject of the Fall and Expulsion from Paradise has no more), but any liberty of this kind would have been preferable to the indistinctness resulting from diminutive size.—Ed.]

majestic and dignified. We see in them beings who, while they feel and bear the sorrows of a corrupt and sinful world, have power to look for consolation into the secrets of the future. Yet the greatest variety prevails in the attitudes and expression—each figure is full of individuality. Zacharias is an aged man, busied in calm and circumspect investigation; Jeremiah is bowed down absorbed in thought—the thought of deep and bitter grief; Ezekiel turns with hasty movement to the genius next to him, who points upwards with joyful expectation, &c. The sibyls are equally characteristic: the Persian —a lofty, majestic woman, very aged; the Erythræan—full of power, like the warrior goddess of wisdom; the Delphic—like Cassandra, youthfully soft and graceful, but with strength to bear the awful seriousness of revelation, &c.

The Genealogy of the Holy Virgin[1] is represented in the most varied family groups, which, without delineating particular events (of which, indeed, few are mentioned in the Scriptures), express domestic union and a tranquil expectation and hope in the future. To these simple circumstances the artist has given the most varied motives, and has produced from them a series of groups, which please by a peculiar air of seclusion and a dignified and beautiful conception of domestic life. These groups and figures belong again to Michael Angelo's noblest compositions; they display a depth of feeling and tenderness, which, though still bearing the impress of his elevated mind, is rarely found in his works, and offer interesting points of comparison with the Holy Families of Raphael.

Four historical subjects in the corner soffits of the ceiling are still to be mentioned; they represent instances of the deliverance of the people of Israel:[2]—Judith, after she has slain Holofernes; Goliath vanquished by David; the Miracle of the Brazen Serpent; and the Punishment of Haman. In

[1] [Some Biblical commentators have explained the difference between the genealogies recorded by St. Matthew and St. Luke, by supposing that the latter gives the descent of the Virgin; but even this view (which is not that of the church of Rome) is inapplicable here, since Michael Angelo has given the descent of Joseph as it appears in St. Matthew, the names being inscribed near the figures.—Ed.]

[2] [See a note on these four subjects at the end of the chapter.—Ed.]

these works also the great genius of the artist manifests itself: the figure of Haman on the Cross has always been celebrated as a master-work of difficult foreshortening.

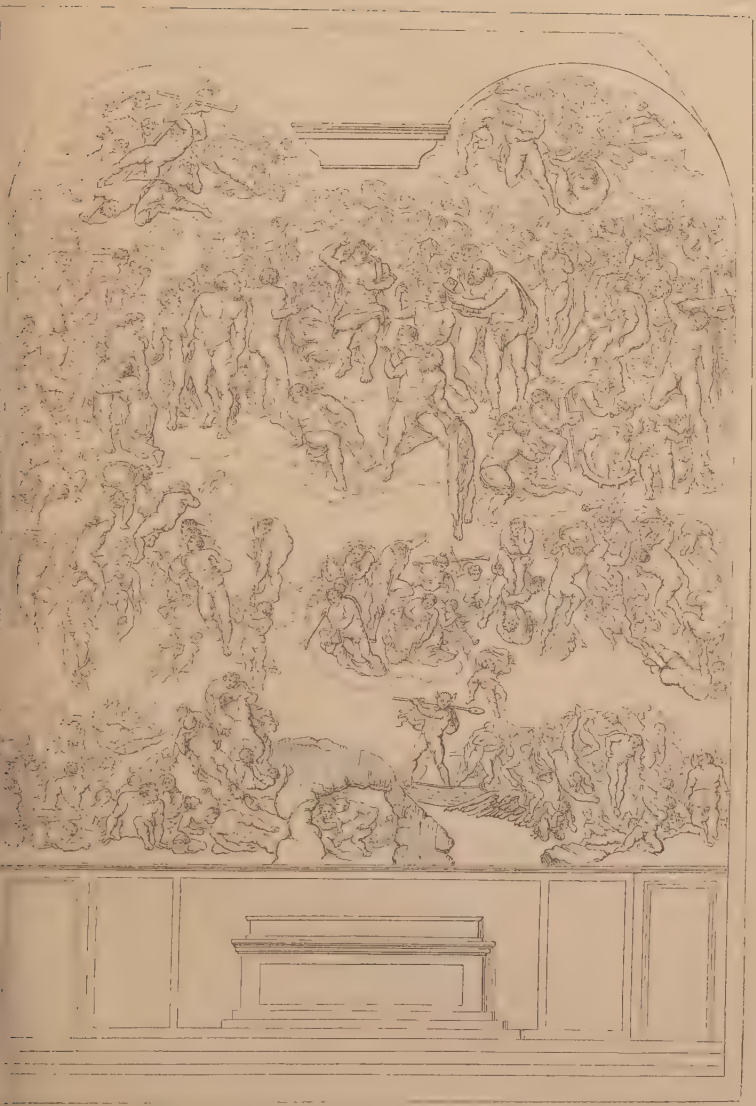
After these paintings the artist was occupied chiefly with statues and architectural works, of which the principal were the new sacristy of S. Lorenzo at Florence, and the monuments of the Medici family, which are placed there. In his sixtieth year he was invited to undertake his second great work in painting, the Last Judgment, on the end wall of the Sistine chapel, sixty feet high. He began it at the desire of Clement VII., and finished it within seven years, in the pontificate of Paul III., in the year 1541. If we consider the countless number of figures, the boldness of the conception, the variety of movement and attitude, the masterly drawing, particularly the extraordinary and difficult foreshortenings, this immense work certainly stands alone in the history of art, but in purity and majesty it does not equal the paintings on the ceiling.

In the upper half of the picture we see the Judge of the world, surrounded by the apostles and patriarchs: beyond these, on one side, are the martyrs; on the other, the saints, and a numerous host of the blessed. Above, under the two arches of the vault, two groups of angels bear the instruments of the passion. Below the Saviour another group of angels holding the books of life sound the trumpets to awaken the dead. On the right is represented the resurrection; and higher, the ascension of the blessed. On the left, hell, and the fall of the condemned, who audaciously strive to press upwards to heaven.

The day of wrath ("dies iræ") is before us—the day, of which the old hymn says—

> Quantus tremor est futurus,
> Quando judex est venturus
> Cuncta strictè discussurus.

The Judge turns in wrath toward the condemned and raises his right hand, with an expression of rejection and condemnation; beside him the Virgin veils herself with her drapery, and turns, with a countenance full of anguish, toward



position with reference to the high altar. page 306.

the blessed.[1] The martyrs, on the left, hold up the instruments and proofs of their martyrdom, in accusation of those who had occasioned their temporal death: these the avenging angels drive from the gates of heaven, and fulfil the sentence pronounced against them. Trembling and anxious, the dead rise slowly, as if still fettered by the weight of an earthly nature; the pardoned ascend to the blessed; a mysterious horror pervades even their hosts—no joy, nor peace, nor blessedness are to be found here.

It must be admitted that the artist has laid a stress on this view of his subject, and this has produced an unfavourable effect upon the upper half of the picture. We look in vain for the glory of heaven, for beings who bear the stamp of divine holiness, and renunciation of human weakness; everywhere we meet with the expression of human passion, of human efforts. We see no choir of solemn, tranquil forms, no harmonious unity of clear grand lines, produced by ideal draperies; instead of these, we find a confused crowd of the most varied movements, naked bodies in violent attitudes, unaccompanied by any of the characteristics made sacred by a holy tradition. Christ, the principal figure of the whole, wants every attribute but that of the Judge: no expression of divine majesty reminds us that it is the Saviour who exercises this office. The upper half of the composition is in many parts heavy, notwithstanding the masterly boldness of the drawing; confused, in spite of the separation of the principal and accessory groups; capricious, notwithstanding a grand arrangement of the whole. But, granting for a moment that these defects exist, still this upper portion, as a whole, has a very impressive effect, and, at the great distance from which it is seen, some of the defects alluded to are less offensive to the eye. The lower half deserves the highest praise. In these groups, from the languid resuscitation and upraising of the pardoned, to the despair of the condemned, every variety of expression, anxiety, anguish, rage, and despair, is powerfully delineated. In the convulsive struggles of the condemned with the evil demons, the most passionate energy

[1] The *motive* of both figures is borrowed, as already remarked (p. 148), from the old fresco by Orcagna, in the Campo Santo at Pisa.

displays itself, and the extraordinary skill of the artist here finds its most appropriate exercise. A peculiar tragic grandeur pervades alike the beings who are given up to despair and their hellish tormentors. This representation of all that is fearful, far from being repulsive, is thus invested with that true moral dignity which is so essential a condition in the higher aims of art.

The nudity of almost all the figures gave offence even during the life of the artist. Pope Paul IV., who cared little for art, wished to have the painting destroyed; but it was afterwards arranged that Daniele da Volterra, one of Michael Angelo's scholars, should cover some of the most objectionable figures with drapery, which fixed upon him the nickname of "Il Braghettone." At a later period the effect of the picture was again injured by a repetition of the same affectation.

A very excellent copy, of small dimensions (seven and a half feet high), executed under the direction of Michael Angelo, by Marcello Venusti, is in the Museo Borbonico at Naples.

Two excellent frescoes, executed by Michael Angelo on the side walls of the Pauline chapel, in the Vatican, belong to the same period. They are little cared for, and are so much blackened by the smoke of lamps that they are seldom mentioned. The Crucifixion of St. Peter, under the large window, is in a most unfavourable light, but is distinguished for its grand, severe composition. That on the opposite wall—the Conversion of St. Paul—is still tolerably distinct. The long train of his soldiers is seen ascending in the background. Christ, surrounded by a host of angels, bursts upon his sight from the storm-flash. Paul lies stretched on the ground—a noble and finely developed form. His followers fly on all sides, or are struck motionless by the thunder. The arrangement of the groups is excellent, and some of the single figures are very dignified; the composition has, moreover, a principle of order and repose, which, in comparison with the Last Judgment, places this picture in a very favourable light. If there are any traces of old age to be found in these works, they are at most discoverable in the execution of details.

The pictures ascribed to Michael Angelo in different gal-

THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL;
A fresco by Michael Angelo, in the Cappella Paolina.

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leries are seldom genuine; he very rarely exercised his hand in easel-pictures, and probably never painted in oil. In the tribune of the Uffizj, at Florence, is a circular picture of a Holy Family, in distemper, which is perhaps his only strictly authenticated easel-picture,[1] and belongs to his early time. He always dealt in the most difficult positions and motives: here the kneeling Virgin is lifting the Child from the lap of Joseph, who is seated behind her; in the background are five naked male figures. The whole makes by no means an attractive picture, and the colouring is mannered. In the Pitti Gallery at Florence a picture of the Three Fates is ascribed to him—severe, keen, characteristic figures: it was executed, however, by Rosso Fiorentino. A Leda, also, in distemper, appears to have been lost;[2] an old copy of this grand composition, in the royal palace at Berlin, has been often quoted as the original.

Although Michael Angelo showed little inclination for easel-pictures himself, he allowed his scholars and other artists to copy from his drawings and cartoons. In this way many of his compositions have been spread abroad; the grand, majestic spirit of the master gives them their character, but their individual value obviously depends on the greater or less ability of the painters employed. One of the best known and most beautiful of these compositions is a Holy Family, where the Child sleeps on the lap of the Virgin, with his arm hanging down; on one side is the little St. John clothed in a panther's skin; on the other, Joseph looks on in silence. The various copies of this picture are distinguished by trifling variations; one of the best was, a few years ago, in the possession of Messrs. Woodburn of London;[3] another is in the Corsini Gallery at Rome. A Christ at the Well, with the Samaritan woman, executed by one of his best scholars, is in the Liverpool Institution. An Annunciation, also, painted by Mar-

[1] Vasari, Vita di Michelagno.

[2] [The cartoon is in England.—Ed.]

[3] [This picture, by Marcello Venusti, is still in their possession; the original drawing by Michael Angelo has lately passed from their hands to the collection of the King of Holland. The same royal amateur obtained from them Michael Angelo's drawing of the Expulsion of the Money-changers. M. Venusti's painting from this still belongs to Messrs. Woodburn.—Ed.]

cello Venusti, is in the Sacristy of the Lateran at Rome. Michael Angelo's so-called "Dream" is multiplied in several repetitions. The best, probably by Sebastian del Piombo, is in the National Gallery at London. A naked male figure is leaning upon a stone bench, the recess of which is covered with bas-relief masks, as symbols of the deceptiveness of life. He is supporting himself also upon a globe, and looks restlessly upwards. Pictures and scenes of various earthly passions surround him in cloudy forms, while behind him a genius with the sound of a mighty trumpet is rousing him to consciousness. A Pietà of Michael Angelo's designing is also very grand. The Dead Christ is in the lap of the Virgin, the arms supported by two cherubs. A small copy of this is in the Munich Gallery. A Christ on the Mount of Olives occurs frequently (in Berlin, Vienna, Munich, Rome, in the Doria Gallery, etc.): the original drawing is in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence. Two moments are represented: on the one side, Christ is at prayer; on the other, he awakens the sleeping disciples. An Annunciation, in the gallery of the Duke of Wellington, is a very grand, solemn, and dignified composition; the original drawing of this also is in the Uffizj at Florence. The Crucifixion is a very frequent subject: an excellent copy by Sebastian del Piombo is in the Museum at Berlin. Sebastian del Piombo's *chef-d'œuvre*, the Raising of Lazarus, in the National Gallery at London, contains not only single figures by Michael Angelo, but is indebted to him probably for the original design.

The same grand feeling which reigns in Michael Angelo's religious subjects pervades his representations from the ancient mythology—representations in which the pleasures of sense form the subject. The Leda, already mentioned, is a fine example of the dignity and purity of his conceptions in subjects of this kind. A Venus kissed by Love is also a picture of wonderful freedom, power, and life. A masterly copy of this composition, by Pontormo, is in the royal palace of Hampton Court, near London; another, probably also by Pontormo, is in the Berlin Museum. The original cartoon, and a less satisfactory copy by one of Michael Angelo's scholars, are in the Museum at Naples. To this class belongs also a Gany-

DESCENT FROM THE CROSS ; by Daniele da Volterra. page 309.

mede borne through the air by the Eagle; of this there are many copies: an excellent one is in the gallery of the royal palace at Berlin; another is at Hampton Court.

The work which occupied the last ten years of this great artist's life was the building of St. Peter's. Persevering with iron energy, without any remuneration, for the honour of God only, he had nearly brought this undertaking to its completion, according to his own plan, while every previous attempt had miscarried. It must be admitted that this work is not entirely free from the effects of a capricious taste; but the disposition of the whole is so singularly grand, that, had not the general effect of the building been injured by later additions, it would have ranked among the most sublime works of modern architecture.

Among the scholars of Michael Angelo we will for the present mention only those who either immediately carried out his designs, or were capable of inventing great works in his style. The foremost of these is Marcello Venusti, who executed many works from the master's drawings, and is distinguished by a delicate and neat execution. In the Colonna Gallery at Rome there is a picture by him—Christ appearing to the Souls in Hades—of noble and excellent motives in detail, but too scattered and feeble in composition. Michael Angelo willingly employed the Venetian Fra Sebastiano del Piombo, in a similar way; by this means he united his own admirable drawing with the beautiful colouring of the Venetian school, and thus hoped to establish a counterpoise to the school of Raphael, to which in many respects he stood opposed. For the account of one of the most important works of this kind see a future chapter. The best and most independent scholar of Michael Angelo is Daniele Ricciarelli, named Daniele da Volterra (a former scholar of Razzi and Peruzzi), an artist who imbibed the peculiarities of his master, though he by no means reached his sublimity.[1] His best work, a Descent from the Cross, in the Trinità de' Monti, at Rome, is copious in composition, and altogether a grand, impassioned work, full of powerful action. An excellently composed but some-

[1] Outlines in Landon: Vies et Œuvres, etc., t. Daniele Ricciarelli.

what inexpressive Baptism of Christ is in S. Pietro in Montorio, at Rome. A double picture in the Louvre, representing David and Goliath, in two different points of view, on each side of a tablet of slate, is violent and hard, but of such masterly power of representation as to have long gone by Michael Angelo's name. A very celebrated picture, the Massacre of the Innocents, by him, is in the tribune of the Uffizj at Florence; it contains more than seventy figures, but it is cold and artificial. Daniele is said also to have undertaken some of the paintings on the external walls of the Roman palaces—a mode of decoration which in his time was much in fashion. Some subjects from the history of Judith, painted in grey chiaroscuro, which still embellish the façade of the Massimi palace, are ascribed to him; they are clever works, but deficient in true inward energy.

[NOTE ON THE SUBJECTS OF THE PAINTINGS IN THE CAPPELLA SISTINA.

The paintings of the Sistine Chapel have been often described, particularly with reference to their style: a few observations are here added on the connection of the subjects. In the general plan Michael Angelo appears to have followed the ordinary series of Biblical types and antitypes familiar in his time, and indeed for centuries previously, by means of illuminated compendiums of the Old and New Testament. The spirit of these cycles of Scripture subjects was the same from first to last: an ulterior meaning was always contemplated: everything was typical. This was in accordance with the system of interpretation introduced by the earliest fathers of the church, confirmed and followed up by its four great doctors, and carried to absurd excess by some theologians of the middle ages. At first the incidents of the Old Testament were referred, as we have seen, only to the Redeemer; but in later times the Madonna was also typified in the heroines of the Jewish history. The cycles of subjects referring to both are by some supposed to have existed in MS. illuminations so early as the ninth century (see Heinecken, Idée d'une Collection complète d'Estampes, p. 319).

The decoration of the Cappella Sistina was begun by various masters (see p. 201 and note), under Sixtus IV., about 1474. How far the original plan was to have extended, and what its general arrangement would have been, it is useless to inquire; but certainly the additions made at various times by Michael Angelo, and first begun in 1508, however different in style, were contrived by him to correspond sufficiently well in general sequence with the earlier works. A similar connection seems to have been intended by

Raphael, in decorating the remaining portion of the walls of the chapel, under these frescoes, with the tapestries from the cartoons, the subjects of which, taken from the Acts of the Apostles, thus still followed in chronological order (see a subsequent note). We proceed briefly to describe the general arrangement of the series treated or contemplated by his great rival.

On the wall over and on each side of the entrance-door Michael Angelo had intended to paint the Fall of Lucifer, so as to correspond with the Last Judgment on the altar-wall opposite. The sketches and studies which he had prepared for this work were afterwards employed and badly copied in fresco by one of his assistants, in the church of the Trinità de' Monti at Rome (Vasari, Vita di M. Angelo). This fresco has long ceased to exist; some of the drawings may, however, yet come to light.[1] The subject in question, although it would have been the last done, would have formed the beginning of the cycle: then follow the subjects of the Creation, the Fall of Man, etc., on the ceiling; the Prophets and Sibyls, the Genealogy of the Redeemer, and four types from Jewish history (see the next note). One of these—perhaps it may be considered the last of the series as to place[2]—representing Moses and the Brazen Serpent, may have been intended as the immediate connecting link between the subjects on the ceiling and the histories of Moses and Christ, by the older masters, below. Underneath these last again were the tapestries from Raphael's cartoons. These decorations, though moveable, were always arranged in the same order. The central subjects in the lower part of the altar-wall were originally the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin; the first a fresco by Perugino; the latter, under it, a tapestry from one of Raphael's cartoons, now lost.[3] Both, together with other works, were afterwards cancelled or removed to make room for Michael Angelo's Last Judgment. Perino del Vaga ultimately made some fresh designs for tapestries to fill the narrow space which remained underneath that fresco, but these latter were never executed.

If we now compare this cycle with those frequently occurring in illuminated MSS., Italian and Transalpine, we shall find that the order of the subjects generally corresponds. It need not be objected that the designs in these MSS. (which, however, must not be judged by the very inferior inventions and copies in the first attempts at wood-engraving) were unworthy the attention of a great artist; it is merely intended to show that the same series of Scriptural types, which appears to have been at least tacitly authorized by the Church in the middle ages, was adopted by Michael Angelo. The series here more particularly alluded to is known by the name of the "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis," a title quite applicable to the general scheme of the Sistine Chapel. MS. copies of the work exist in the British Museum, in the Royal Library at Paris, and elsewhere. In this compendium the first subject

[1] It is possible that some may be in the hands of collectors, but may be erroneously considered to belong to the Last Judgment.

[2] Vasari calls the Jonah which precedes it the last of the single figures.

[3] See the Editor's note, p. 201, and a subsequent note on the original situation of the tapestries.

is the Fall of Lucifer; then follow the Creation of Eve, the Disobedience of Man, the Deluge, etc.: in connection with the Nativity of the Virgin we find the Genealogical "Stem of Jesse;" and in connection with the Birth of Christ the Sibyl shows Augustus the vision of the Virgin and Child; Esther and Judith appear as types of the Madonna; and David Slaying Goliath prefigures Christ's Victory over Satan in the Temptation.[1] In some of the printed editions the subject of Jonah immediately precedes the Last Judgment; the same connection is observed in the altar-wall of the Cappella Sistina; and, although there was an interval of many years between the completion of the two frescoes, this seems to prove that the entire series was always contemplated. In MS. Gospels, and some editions of the Biblia Pauperum, the subjects of the New Testament are surmounted or surrounded by busts of the Prophets. While remarking these coincidences, we may observe that the story of Heliodorus, so finely treated by Raphael and alluded to by Dante (Purg. c. 20), occurs in the Speculum Salvationis in connection with Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (the Expulsion of the Money-changers).

In considering the whole cycle of the Cappella Sistina, it will be seen that the Bible subjects by Michael Angelo are more abundant than the antitypes by the older masters, who had occupied one wall with incidents from the life of Moses; but it would have been impossible to destroy these latter without also removing the opposite series from the New Testament, and this would have involved the necessity of repainting the whole, a labour which Michael Angelo, anxious to complete his undertakings in sculpture, probably wished to avoid. If, however, we assume the possibility of his ever having contemplated the repainting of this lower series, in accordance with the wishes of Julius II., we may then conclude that some of his designs for New Testament subjects (of which a few were copied in a small size by Marcello Venusti and others) may have been intended for this purpose.

Even as it is, perhaps no earlier painter followed the order indicated in the cycles that have been quoted more implicitly than Michael Angelo. The reason of this may have been that on other occasions a reference to particular dogmas of the church, and even to the history of particular saints, may have been demanded; but in the sanctuary of the Christian hierarchy the most appropriate subjects were obviously such as had reference to the scheme of revealed religion as a whole. That this scheme should be expressed in accordance with some superstitions of the age was perfectly natural. The painters who preceded Michael Angelo in the decoration of the chapel had conceived, it is true, a grand cycle in the parallel between the Old and New Law, represented by the acts of Moses and Christ; but their plan seems to have been already exhausted in the space they covered. On the other hand, Michael Angelo's superior learning need not be adduced to account for his adoption of the cycle he selected: the works which may have suggested it were accessible and familiar to all. Heinecken remarks that MSS. of the Speculum Salvationis appear to have existed in every Benedictine convent; the earliest he saw was, he supposes, of the 12th century.

[1] The subject of the Brazen Serpent occurs in the Biblia Pauperum.

The general order observed in these peculiar interpretations of Scripture was, as we have seen, closely followed; but in the selection of some subjects, as in the general treatment of all the designs in the chapel, Michael Angelo was probably influenced by the desire of displaying the human figure. Every subject he has introduced had, however, in the interpretations alluded to, its symbolical meaning, and generally demanded as its antitype a New Testament subject below. In the sources above mentioned the type and antitype are confronted, and in many instances the allusions are carefully explained: this is the case in the Speculum Salvationis, and often in illuminated Bibles; that of Philip de Rouvre, Duke of Burgundy (14th century), which is preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, is a curious example, and there are several in the British Museum.—Ed.]

[NOTE ON THE FOUR SUBJECTS IN THE ANGLES OF THE CEILING.

These four subjects represent, it is true, remarkable deliverances of the Jewish nation, but it is obvious that such themes could only be selected to adorn a Papal chapel on account of their typical meaning, and in order to explain them it is not sufficient to examine them in a spirit which is the result of our own time and creed; it is also necessary to consider them with reference to the faith they illustrate, as received at the period when they were done.

The great argument of the cycles of Scriptural representations, from first to last, was the Fall and the Atonement: to the latter every subject had reference, more or less directly; but it is to be remembered that certain types in the Old Testament were also considered to relate to the Virgin, and sometimes to the Church.

The three subjects in the centre of the ceiling—the Creation of Adam, the Creation of Eve, and the Fall and Expulsion from Paradise—were not unintentionally made so prominent in situation. The Creation of Eve, though occupying one of the smaller compartments, it is to be remarked, forms the central subject of the whole ceiling. It is always made thus important in the cycles of Scriptural types, in allusion to the Messiah being born of the woman alone. The four subjects at the angles—David Beheading Goliath, Judith with the Head of Holofernes, the Punishment of Haman, and the Brazen Serpent—are types of the Redemption: at the same time they are connected, as intermediate symbols, with the subjects of the ceiling. In the Speculum Salvationis (c. 13), the first of these accompanies Christ's victory over Satan in the Temptation, and is thus explained:—"Golias iste gygas superbus figuram tenet Luciferi, David autem Christus est, qui temptationem superbiæ viriliter superavit." In the Biblia Pauperum the same subject typifies the Redeemer overcoming the power of Satan by liberating the saints from the Limbus (pl. 28). The inscription, "Signans te Christe Golyam conterit iste," appears, like the subject itself, to allude to the prophecy "ipse

conteret caput tuum,"—"it shall bruise thy head."[1] This reading, which is strictly true to the original, occurs in the earliest versions of the Bible; yet in others, also very ancient, the passage is rendered "*ipsa* conteret caput tuum," according to which *the woman herself* bruises her enemy's head. The authorized Vulgate agrees with the latter translation; but if the subject of David and Goliath was intended to refer to the same passage, the conclusion is that both interpretations were recognised in the typical representations of the middle ages. The allusions in the sense of the Roman version are of course unequivocal. In the work first quoted, a representation of the Virgin surrounded by the instruments of the passion is the parallel subject to Judith after having beheaded Holofernes, and is thus described:—"Maria per compassionem vicit adversarium nostrum dyabolum: ipsa enim præfigurata per Judith quæ restitit Holoferni. Tunc impletæ sunt in ipsâ olim præmonstratæ figuræ, et quædam prophetica dicta sacræ scripturæ:—'Et tu Sathane insidiaberis calcaneo ejus (Mariæ) homines impugnando; ipsa conteret caput tuum per passionem te superando.'" The same prophecy, here distinctly quoted,—"it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel,"—is the key to the subjects in question, for the two opposite types are as evidently intended to illustrate the concluding words of the same verse: they allude to the permitted and limited power of the evil one, and the ultimate redemption; but still with the same double application to Christ and the Madonna,—the Brazen Serpent surrounded by the suffering Israelites alluding to the former, the Retributive Punishment of Haman,[2] and Triumph of Esther, to the latter. The type of the Brazen Serpent is probably frequent in MS. Bibles; in the Biblia Pauperum it accompanies the Crucifixion (pl. 25), with the inscriptions, "Icti curantur serpentem dum speculantur,"—"Eruit a tristi baratro nos passio Christi." The intercession of Esther with Ahasuerus is the type of the intercession of the Virgin; the two subjects appear together in the Speculum Salvationis (c. 39): the following extract from the description explains their connexion:—"Tunc illa præcipit populum suum ab iniquo Aman defendi. Hester de gente Judæorum paupercula puella fuerat, et eam rex Assuerus pro omnibus eligerat et reginam constituerat. Ita Deus pro omnibus virginibus Mariam elegit—Et per ejus interventionem nostrum hostem condemnavit." The above allusions to the Madonna had been long consecrated in the Church of Rome: that others far more recondite and fanciful were also common, may be gathered from the examples adduced and condemned by Erasmus in his 'Ecclesiastes.'—ED.]

[1] "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." Gen. iii. 15.

[2] The circumstance of Haman being represented crucified agrees with Dante's description of the same subject (Purg., c. 17); and appears to be warranted by the original. Compare with Acts x. 39.

CHAPTER III.

OTHER MASTERS OF FLORENCE.

Besides Leonardo and Michael Angelo, several other artists were formed in Florence, who, without reaching the depth and sublimity of these two masters, deserve to be ranked near them by great and peculiar qualities. The first of these is Baccio della Porta, who took the name of Fra Bartolommeo when he entered the Dominican convent of S. Marco at Florence (1469-1517). Originally formed in the school of Cosimo Rosselli, he afterwards adopted a style more consonant to his own taste, under the influence probably of the works of Leonardo. As an artist, Fra Bartolommeo was characterized by a calm seriousness, unaffected dignity and grace. The religious expression of his holy figures proceeds from a conscious elevation, and is no longer the result of a mere sentimentality, as in the older masters. A mild dignity —the attribute of Leonardo and his school—pervades these figures, and in his Madonnas the expression of holiness is happily blended with feminine beauty. But the circle in which he moves is limited. Generally speaking, we feel the want of that inward power so essential to the perfection and even conception of grand and elevated subjects. In these he appears sometimes cold and formal, sometimes impetuous and wanting in repose. As respects his technical qualities, his colouring, especially of the nude, is unusually soft: he appears, also, to have imbibed Leonardo's peculiarly melting execution; his drapery, too, is excellent. The use of wooden lay-figures was introduced by him, and was the means of considerably improving the study of drapery. His compositions are generally simple Madonnas, surrounded by Angels, but he renders them imposing by splendid architecture and a skilful disposition of the groups. In these pictures he delights to introduce boy-angels, sometimes seated and playing on instruments, sometimes hovering around the Madonna, bearing her mantle, or the dais of the throne itself. In the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence are two small miniature

pictures of Fra Bartolommeo's early time—the Birth and Circumcision of Christ; the composition is particularly pleasing and dignified, the arrangement of the drapery excellent, and the execution extremely delicate. Already, even in these early works, the fine character of the artist's talent is visible, although it was not emphatically developed till a later period. In the year 1500, wounded to the soul by the execution of Savonarola, his most intimate and venerated friend, he entered into a convent, and during four years never touched a pencil. His love of life and Art was reawakened principally through the influence of the youthful Raphael, who arrived at Florence in 1504, and stimulated him to fresh exertions. Among the best works of Fra Bartolommeo's pencil, now existing, are some simple compositions of the Madonna and Child, often to be met with in galleries (some of the most beautiful are in the Uffizj and Academy at Florence), or altar-pieces, with the Madonna and various Saints. A specimen of this latter kind, representing the patron-saints of Florence, is also in the Uffizj. It is a particularly dignified and animated composition (St. Anna here occupies the highest place; the Madonna is seated a step lower), but it is only dead-coloured, in chiaroscuro, for, unhappily, the master died before he could execute it. His best altar-pictures of this kind are in Lucca; the Madonna della Misericordia, in S. Romano, is especially worthy of notice. In this the Madonna is standing, in an attitude of entreaty, among a host of pious votaries (44 heads), whom she protects from the wrath of heaven beneath her mantle, which is upheld by angels. Also a beautiful Madonna with Saints in S. Martino. The gallery of the Pitti Palace at Florence is rich in works by Fra Bartolommeo. The most celebrated is the St. Mark; this picture is highly extolled for its sublimity, but perhaps betrays the deficiency of manly energy before alluded to. Two figures of Prophets, in the tribune of the Uffizj, are similar in style, but not so important. Still more beautiful, from its harmonious, solemn dignity, is a S. Vincenzio, brought from the convent of St. Mark to the gallery of the Academy. Also a representation of Christ after his ascension, surrounded by the Evangelists, and two genii holding a shield, in the Pitti Palace, though not satis-

A group from Fra Bartolommeo's picture in S. Romano at Lucca page 318.

ST. MARK; by Fra Bartolommeo. page 313

THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE: by Fra Bartolommeo. page 317

THE SALUTATION; an oil painting by Mariotto Albertinelli, in the Gallery of the Uffizi at Florence. Page 319.

factory in a spiritual sense, is of solemn arrangement and great outward beauty of motive. A large Madonna with Saints, in the same gallery, has greatly darkened with age, but is said to have been one of his principal works. A number of charming heads in fresco, formerly in S. Maria Maddalena, near Florence, are now preserved in the Academy. We do not enumerate all the works of this artist in the galleries of Florence, but we must not omit a very interesting but now much injured fresco which adorns the wall of a chapel in a small court of S. Maria Nuova. It represents the Last Judgment; and in the Apostles sitting on each side of Christ we are forcibly reminded of Raphael's "Disputa," as well as of the Last Judgment of Orcagna, in the Campo Santo at Pisa. The draperies of the Apostles are particularly excellent. The works of Fra Bartolommeo are rare out of Tuscany. An Assumption of the Virgin, in the Studj Gallery at Naples, is ascribed to him, and, with the exception of the principal figure, is worthy of the master. Two grand altarpieces of 1505–1507, and 1515, are in the Louvre. A Madonna with Christ and the Baptist, in the collection of Lord Cowper at Panshanger, is distinguished from Fra Bartolommeo's other smaller works not only in composition and colouring, but in the tender melancholy which pervades the whole. Two standing figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, as large as life, were executed during a short residence in Rome. The first was completed by Raphael after Fra Bartolommeo's departure. They are now in the Quirinal. An excellent Madonna with Saints is in the cathedral at Besançon, opposite the south doorway. Finally, his Presentation in the Temple, well known by the engraving, is in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna; a neat sketch of it is in the Uffizj Gallery at Florence.

Mariotto Albertinelli was the friend and fellow scholar of Fra Bartolommeo, and an imitator of his style. A very celebrated picture by him is in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence; the subject is the Salutation. It contains the two figures of Mary and Elizabeth only, but the arrangement is simple and noble, the drawing excellent, the colouring powerful, and the expression earnest and finely intended, but perhaps in a slight degree constrained. In the Academy at Florence there are also several clever pictures, parts of which are very

graceful, by this master. In the Berlin Museum there is an Assumption of the Virgin, the upper part by Fra Bartolommeo, the lower by Mariotto Albertinelli. An early picture of the year 1506, the Virgin and Child standing upon a pedestal between two kneeling saints, is delicate and graceful, but not comparable with Fra Bartolommeo in energy. It is in the Louvre.

Among the scholars of Fra Bartolommeo may be mentioned Fra Paolo da Pistoja. In the Royal Gallery of Vienna there is a large altar-picture by him, in the style of his master. He inherited Fra Bartolommeo's drawings, and made use of them for his own pictures. After him the drawings fell into the hands of a Dominican nun, Plautilla Nelli, who also formed her style from them; but she appears as a feeble, sentimental imitator.

The general style of Fra Bartolommeo was followed by a later Florentine artist, Andrea Vanucchi, commonly called Andrea del Sarto,[1] from his father's trade (1488-1530). In the works of this painter there is, however, less of the religious seriousness of the elder master, less of his sincerity in the treatment of holy subjects. The pictures of Andrea, on the contrary, are generally characterized by a mere amiable cheerfulness, a childlike innocent gaiety. The easily-known type of his female heads is in no way derived from the ideal, but is merely, as with many a painter of the fifteenth century, a generalising of one single individual. Neither has this artist a rich fancy, as is proved by his historical pictures; but his numerous Madonnas are always pleasing when in his own peculiar style, and so long as his fine execution does not degenerate to empty mannerism. Originally Andrea was of the school of Pietro di Cosimo, and preserved some of the peculiarities of his master, particularly in his small pictures with landscape backgrounds. He soon, however, became independent; his style, at first youthfully constrained and severe, was at a later period peculiarly soft and delicate in the modelling of the forms.

Among the earliest of Andrea's works are the frescoes which he executed in the court of the Compagnia dello Scalzo at

[1] Biadi, Notizie inedite della Vita d'Andrea del Sarto, raccolte da manoscritti e documenti autentici; Firenze, 1830.—Andrea del Sarto, von Alfred Reumont; Leipzig, 1835.

Florence.[1] All the paintings now remaining are in chiaroscuro, and, with the exception of some allegorical figures, represent the history of St. John the Baptist. Those first painted were the Baptism of Christ, the Preaching of John, and the Baptism of the People. With the dry angular manner of the old school these already unite pleasing, correct drawing and dignity of character. The rest of these pictures belong to a later period of the artist's practice, and are of unequal merit; the last executed—the Birth of John—is, however, very excellent: it is a simple, effective composition, with very beautiful figures. Although these paintings have suffered, they can yet be tolerably well made out. In consequence of the celebrity of these first-mentioned frescoes a similar work was intrusted to Andrea in the court of the SS. Annunziata at Florence. Alessio Baldovinetti had already begun the subject of the Nativity, and Cosimo Rosselli had also painted a compartment. Andrea commenced with the history of S. Filippo Benizzi, which he completed in five large pictures. These are among the most beautiful of his productions; they are in some parts very simple and severe in execution, but have an expression of sterling dignity which is rarely found in his other works. One of their peculiar features is the beautiful landscape backgrounds. The fourth picture is particularly remarkable, both as regards its composition and the lively interest with which the story is told; it represents the Death of the Saint, and a Boy Restored to Life. The fifth excels in the harmony of its light and shade and colouring; the subject is Children Healed by touching the garment of the Saint. Some time after Andrea painted in the same court the Birth of the Virgin, also an excellent work, and an Adoration of the Kings, with numerous figures. Another painting by him, in the great court of the same convent (in the lunette over the entrance), is of a considerably later period (1525); it is known by the name of the Madonna del Sacco—a simple Holy Family, in which Joseph is represented leaning on a sack. This is one of the artist's most celebrated works: the forms are grand, the composition has an agreeable repose, and the drapery is masterly.

[1] Pitture a Fresco di Andrea del Sarto; Firenze, 1823.

Before we pass to Andrea's easel-pictures another important fresco must be mentioned, in the refectory of the convent of S. Salvi, near Florence, of the year 1526–7. It represents the Last Supper, with the usual arrangement of the figures; it resembles, for instance, Leonardo da Vinci's composition, but is not to be compared with that work in the profound conception of the subject. The division of the groups is peculiar; the single figures are finely characterized.

The easel-pictures of Andrea are very numerous: their subjects are principally confined to the simple circle of Madonnas, Holy Families, and similar altar-pieces; in these his peculiar qualities are most freely developed. Pictures of this kind, belonging to his early time, are very rare. One, which he painted for the convent of S. Gallo, and which is now in the Pitti Palace, shows a finer and deeper earnestness than is usual in his works; it is an Annunciation, and reminds us in some respects of Francia. In other pictures—in one, for example, of the same subject, in the same place (No. 27), the influence of Michael Angelo is visible—an influence which can hardly be said to have operated favourably on the style of Andrea. The most beautiful example of this artist's own manner is the Madonna di S. Francesco, in the tribune of the Uffizj at Florence. The Madonna with the Child stands on a low altar, supported by two boy-angels; St. Francis and St. John the Evangelist stand beside her: the expression of both the saints is bland and dignified. Among the altar-pieces which are now in the Pitti Palace, the so-called Disputa della SS. Trinità is peculiarly fitted to exhibit Andrea's affinity with the Venetian school. This is a "Santa Conversazione" of six Saints. St. Augustin is speaking with the highest inspiration of manner; St. Dominic is being convinced with his reason, St. Francis with his heart; St. Lawrence is looking earnestly out of the picture; while St. Sebastian and the Magdalen are kneeling in front, listening devoutly. We here find the most admirable contrast of action and expression, combined with the highest beauty of execution, especially of colouring. A Dead Christ, with the mourners around him, symmetrically composed, which Andrea preferred, is rich in fine details. Besides these, there is a considerable number of

Andrea's works, all more or less excellent, in the Florentine galleries, especially in that of the Palazzo Pitti.

In the year 1518 Andrea del Sarto was invited into France by Francis I., a great lover of Art; for him and the great men of his court the master executed a number of pictures: many of them still adorn the gallery of the Louvre. He was well received, and his remuneration was such as he could never have expected in Florence. Yet he was induced to leave France in the following year, under some pretext, by the importunities of his capricious and tyrannical wife; and even to embezzle the sums intrusted to him by the king for the purchase of works of art in Italy. He afterwards deeply repented his folly, but never regained the favour of the king. His conduct drew upon him many reproaches even in his native place, and the consciousness of disgrace certainly had a repressing influence on the free exercise of his talent. Of those pictures which he executed at Fontainebleau, only his principal one, a Carità, is preserved in the Louvre. This is the well-known group of a Mother with three Children, and (in spite of various injuries, and also of the destruction to which, in common with all the other pictures in the long gallery at the Louvre,[1] it is rapidly hastening) it is still of powerful effect of colouring: the forms, however, are neither noble nor well chosen. Andrea's pictures are frequent in other galleries besides those of Florence and Paris: a whole collection of Madonnas and Holy Families, by himself and his scholars, is in the Borghese Palace at Rome. Some very excellent specimens are in Munich, Vienna, Berlin, and Dresden. But it is by no means to be supposed that all the works which bear his name are genuine. One of his last and most celebrated pictures is in Dresden—the Sacrifice of Abraham—done in 1529.

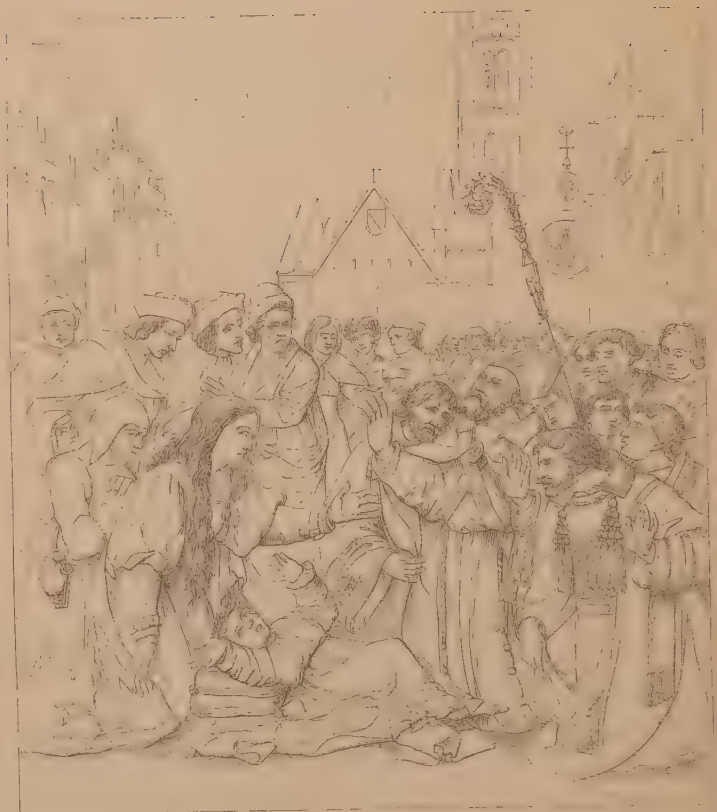
Marc' Antonio Franciabigio, the friend and companion of

[1] The wretched condition of the pictures in the Dresden Gallery, which is so much deplored, is not to be compared with the systematic ruin of those in this part of the Louvre. For further information on this head we refer our readers to the perpetual complaints of certain French journals, and to Waagen's 'Paris,' p. 679. Those which survive the daily dust during the Exhibition, and the damp exhalations of the neighbouring Seine, are sure to be destroyed by the periodical "Restorations." Whoever wishes to see these pictures must lose no time.

Andrea, resembles him in manner, although he never reached his *naïveté* and freedom. He painted two pictures in the court of the Scalzo, next to Andrea's—John receiving the Blessing of his Parents before he goes into the Wilderness, and his First Meeting with the youthful Christ. In the court of the SS. Annunziata he painted the Marriage of the Virgin. In all these works he appears a successful imitator of his friend. The monks uncovered this last work before it was finished, which so enraged the artist that he gave the head of the Virgin some blows with a hammer, and was with difficulty prevented from destroying the whole. The traces of these blows remain, for neither Franciabigio nor any other artist would repair the injury. In his easel-pictures he is seldom important.

Jacopo Carucci, commonly called Pontormo, from his native city, was a scholar of Andrea: his talents strongly excited the jealousy of his master, who forced him by injurious treatment to leave his studio. In the court of the SS. Annunziata, Jacopo painted the Salutation, or Visit of Mary to Elizabeth; it has great grandeur in the forms. In the Uffizj there is an excellent portrait by him of Cosmo de' Medici, vivid and warm in colour. There are excellent portraits by this artist elsewhere — for example, in the Berlin Museum. Two other scholars of Andrea are not to be forgotten, Jacone and Domenico Puligo, who frequently took a part in the works of their master. The pictures of Domenico, particularly his numerous Holy Families (in the Borghese and Colonna Galleries at Rome, the Pitti Palace at Florence, &c.), are so much in the manner of Andrea as to be frequently mistaken for that painter's works, only that the natural grace of Andrea is here lost in vagueness and uncertainty.

The Florentine, Il Rosso, was also employed in the court of the SS. Annunziata with Andrea and the above-named artists. He painted in it an Assumption of the Virgin, an animated and solemn picture, less noble and less clear in composition, however, than the other frescoes of this place, and not without some indication of mannerism. A certain fantastic manner, peculiar to this artist, distinguishes him from the rest of the Florentines. In the galleries of Florence



ST. ZENOBIUS RAISING A DEAD CHILD; an oil painting by Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, in the Gallery of the Uffizj at Florence. page 325.

and in other parts of Italy we find many pictures by his hand; upon the whole, however, they are scarce even there. A large Madonna with saints, in the manner of Andrea del Sarto, is in the Pitti Palace. Il Rosso spent the most active period of his life in France, in the service of Francis I. (under the name of Maître Roux), superintending the embellishments of the palace at Fontainebleau. A Salutation of the Virgin, of his best time, now in the Louvre, shows equally the influence of Fra Bartolommeo as of Andrea del Sarto. An Entombment in the same gallery is coldly antique and very mannered.

Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, the son of Domenico Ghirlandajo, was an artist of extraordinary talent: he passed from the school of his father and uncle (David Ghirlandajo) into that of Fra Bartolommeo, and there formed a beautiful manner of his own. When Raphael arrived in Florence, in 1504, Ridolfo cultivated a close friendship with him. At a later period Raphael urged him to take a part in his great works in the Vatican, but Ridolfo did not accede to this request. Two of his paintings in the Uffizj at Florence show how nearly at this time he kept pace with the aspiring talents of Raphael. In one, St. Zenobius raises a dead boy to life; in the other, the corpse of the Saint is borne to the Duomo of Florence: they are extremely well painted; the heads especially are worthy of all praise. These pictures show, perhaps, the highest state of perfection which the realistic school of Florence attained. An admirably executed Coronation of the Virgin, with several saints, of the year 1504, is now in the Louvre. A female head, in the Pitti Palace, with the date 1509, may be compared to some of Francia's best portraits. A Christ bearing the Cross, in S. Spirito at Florence, though somewhat superficial in execution, displays a very original motive: the crowd are all looking round at the sorrowing Virgin who is following. Ridolfo, unfortunately, afterwards deserted this honourable path, and from an artist became a mere mechanical painter. With Raffaellino del Garbo (1476–1524), a scholar of Filippino Lippi, we close the series of the Florentine artists of this period. In this painter's earlier works there is a peculiar amiability; he

has a tenderness of feeling which nearly resembles Lorenzo di Credi, but it is expressed still more elegantly. The Berlin Museum possesses five paintings by Raffaellino, among which two large altar-pictures (Nos. 87 and 98),[1] and, above all, a Madonna and Child with two angels (No. 90), are very remarkable for these qualities. That dramatic power also, which is peculiar in so high a manner to Lippi and the Ghirlandaj, displays itself in Raffaellino's "Resurrection" in the Florentine Academy, especially in the figures of the four guards. This painter at a later period followed the modern direction, in which M. Angelo and Raphael had led the way; but his attempts in it were not successful. Some of his later works are to be seen on the ceiling of the chapel of St. Thomas Aquinas, in S. Maria sopra Minerva, at Rome. The walls are painted by his master Filippino Lippi.

CHAPTER IV.

RAPHAEL.

We now approach a master who again belongs to the greatest of modern times — Raphael Sanzio, more properly Santi of Urbino.[2] According to Vasari, he was born on Good Friday, March 28th, 1483, and died on Good Friday, April 6th, 1520.

[1] Waagen, Verzeichniss der Gemälde-Sammlung des Königl. Museums zu Berlin, 1851.

[2] Very copious literary materials. The most important original works, beside the articles in Vasari's Biography, are—Angelo Comolli, Vita inedita di Raffaello da Urbino, illustr. con note, Roma, 1790; 2nd edit., 1791.—Carlo Fea, Notizie intorno Raff. Sanzio da Ur. ed alcune di lui opere, etc., Roma, 1822.—L. Pungileone, Elogio storico di Raffᵇ· Santi da Urbino, Urb. 1829.—Quatremère de Quincy, Hist. de la Vie et des Ouvrages de Raphˡ·, Paris, 1824; 2nd edition, 1833; translated into Italian, with important notes: Istoria della Vita e delle Opere di Rafaello Sanzio da Urbino, del S. Quatremère, etc.; voltata in Italiano, corretta, illustrata ed ampliata per cura di Francesco Longhena, Milano, 1829.—Rafael als Mensch und Künstler, von G. K. Nagler, München, 1836,—a compilation. Others by Braun, Rehberg, &c. Beyond all these ranks J. D. Passavant, Rafael von Urbino u. sein Vater Giovanni Santi, Leipzig, 1839, 2 vols. with 14 plates; a work which embraces, with critical selection, the previous researches, explains in detail the works of the great painter, and, till new facts come to light, may be considered as having exhausted the subject.

Further: Italienische Forschungen von C. F. von Rumohr, vol. iii.—

His epitaph, however, states that he died on his birthday, which, according to other accounts, also was April 6th, 1483. It would be difficult to describe Raphael's character in more appropriate words than those with which Vasari concludes his biography:—"O happy and blessed spirit! every one speaks with interest of thee; celebrates thy deeds; admires thee in thy works! Well might Painting die when this noble artist ceased to live; for when his eyes were closed she remained in darkness. For us who survive him it remains to imitate the good, nay excellent method, which he has left us for our guidance; and as his great qualities deserve, and our duty bids us, to cherish his memory in our hearts, and keep it alive in our discourse by speaking of him with the high respect which is his due. For in fact through him we have the art in all its extent, colouring, and invention, carried to a perfection which could hardly have been looked for; and in this universality let no human being ever hope to surpass him. And, beside this benefit which he conferred on Art as her true friend, he neglected not to show us how every man should conduct himself in all the relations of life. Among his rare gifts there was one which especially excites my wonder; I mean, that Heaven should have granted him to infuse a spirit among those who lived around him so contrary to that which is prevalent among professional men. The painters—I do not allude to the humble-minded only, but to those of an ambitious turn, and many of this sort there are—the painters who worked in company with Raphael lived in perfect harmony, as if all bad feelings were extinguished in his presence, and every base, unworthy thought had passed from their minds. This friendly state of things was never so remarkable as in Raphael's time; it was because the artists were at once

Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, etc.—Passavant, Kunstreise durch England und Belgien:—etc.

Outlines in Landon's Vies et Œuvres, etc.:—a great number, but unfortunately not chosen with sufficient discrimination.—Bonnemaison, Suite d'études calquées et dessinées d'après cinq tableaux de Raphael; Paris, 1818. Very useful as studies:—etc.

Catalogues of the Engravings after Raphael's works:—Nachrichten von Künstlern und Künstsachen; vol. ii., Leipzig, 1769, p. 315, etc.—Catalogue des Estampes gravées d'après Rafael: par Tauriscus Eubœus (the Arcadian designation of Count Lepel); Francfort sur le M., 1819—etc.

subdued by his obliging manners and by his surpassing merit, but more than all by the spell of his natural character, which was so benevolent, so full of affectionate kindness, that not only men, but even the very brutes, respected him. It is said that, if any painter of his acquaintance, or even any stranger, asked him for a drawing which could be of use to him, Raphael would leave his work to assist him. He always had a great number of artists employed for him, helping them and teaching them with the kindness of a father to his children rather than as a master directing his scholars. For which reason it was observed he never went to court without being accompanied from his very door by perhaps fifty painters, all clever in their way, who had a pleasure in thus attending him to do him honour. In short, he lived as a sovereign rather than as a painter. And thus, O Art of Painting! thou too couldst then account thyself most happy, since an artist was thine, who, by his skill and by his moral excellence, exalted thee to the highest heaven!"

Although we cannot here enter into the consideration of the extravagant and partial appreciation of Raphael[1] implied in this passage, so evidently to the disadvantage of all other artists, but which is quite in accordance with the spirit of the present age, we must acknowledge that in this description we find the essential points which form the groundwork of Raphael's art. Vasari paints him as a magician, whose presence diffuses joy and happiness, makes the marvellous possible, and effects the closest union between the most opposite minds. This magic power is the spirit of beauty, which filled his whole being and shines through all his creations. A beautiful and harmonious development of form is his first aim, but not in the restrictive sense in which it was studied by the masters of the fifteenth century. In Raphael, beauty of form is the expression of elevation of mind, and of the utmost purity of soul. In Leonardo da Vinci, the chief aim appears

[1] The greatness of Raphael, compared with other artists, is not so much in kind as in degree. No master has left so many really excellent works as he whose days were so early numbered; in none has there been observed so little that is unpleasing. His pure and noble character again places him in the first rank among artists. But this should not prevent us from admitting the successful efforts and high original qualities of other masters.

to have been a characteristic and thorough expression of the theme he had to treat; in Michael Angelo, we remark a peculiar, grand, *subjective* mode of conception: in both, beauty of form is to be considered as a secondary element:—it is the reverse in Raphael. This tendency may be distinctly observed in some of his works, where the subjects prescribed to him were perhaps less suited to the tendency of his mind; in these, detached parts are often more attractive than the whole, and the accessory figures, represented with all the truth of nature, excite a stronger interest than the principal subject of the picture.

Like most of the great masters of the time, Raphael's activity was not confined to a single department: in the history of art, he also fills an important place as an architect, and had begun important researches into the architectural remains of Roman antiquity. One of the finest statues of modern Rome[1] is ascribed to him, not only in design or model, but in the execution in marble. But all his other qualities were eclipsed by his predominant talent for painting, and it is more especially in this art that we find the development of his powers aided in the happiest manner by the circumstances in which he was placed. We shall trace this peculiar progress in its most important steps.

Raphael was the son of Giovanni Sanzio, or De' Santi, of Urbino (who has been mentioned among the painters allied to the Umbrian school). He received his first education as an artist from his father, whom, however, he lost in his eleventh year. For the history of this part of his life there are only conjectures. As early as 1495 Raphael probably entered the school of Pietro Perugino, at Perugia, where he remained till about his twentieth year. Of the works painted by him before he entered this school we know nothing with certainty. At Urbino a Madonna is ascribed to him, said to have been

[1] The Jonah in the Cappella Chigi, in S. M. del Popolo. Passavant's reasons (i. 249) for ascribing the execution to Raphael appear tolerably convincing. As regards also the Boy upon a Dolphin, of which a plaster cast is in the Mengs Gallery at Dresden, see Passavant, i. 250, and Kunstbl., 1837, No. 62. [The original statue of the Boy borne by a Dolphin is now in Ireland. See the Penny Magazine, July 17, 1841, where a woodcut of it is given. On the statues in the Chigi chapel, see Eastlake's Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts, p. 257, note.—ED.]

painted on the court-wall of his father's dwelling; it is now preserved in a room of the same house. It has been recognised, however, as the work of his father. A circular picture of a Holy Family, in the sacristy of S. Andrea[1] at Urbino, appears to be an imitation from one of his latest works. A Madonna in distemper, in S. Chiara at Urbino, is by Ingegno, so that nothing certain remains of his earliest time. The first traces of Raphael's exertions in the school of Perugino are supposed to be observable in several pictures by this master, who availed himself of the help of his gifted scholar in the execution of his works. The Resurrection, in the Vatican, may, as we have observed before, be almost entirely by the hand of Raphael. Another work of this kind is a beautiful altar-piece, formerly in the Certosa at Pavia, now in the palace of the Duca Melzi at Milan; one of the side panels in particular, representing an angel with Tobias, is of surpassing beauty. In the Adoration of the new-born Infant, in the Vatican, a work of Perugino's school, executed by several hands, the figure of Joseph is at all events by Raphael, perhaps also one of the front group. On the other hand, his participation in the frescoes of the Sala del Cambio at Perugia, and in the Adoration of the Kings in Città della Pieve, is more than doubtful.

The first independent works by Raphael (about 1500) which can be identified as such are the two sides (now separated) of a church flag in S. Trinità zu Città di Castello, representing the Trinity with two saints praying, and the Creation of Eve; also an altar-piece executed for the same town—a Crucifixion with four saints, formerly in Cardinal Fesch's gallery at Rome, now in that of Lord Ward in London. Both works are entirely in Perugino's style, though already surpassing him in intelligence of expression. In the last-named picture, the childlike beauty of the St. John, and the deep, sacred

[1] [The first of the above-named pictures, representing a Madonna and Sleeping Child, is a work by Giovanni Santi, much repainted. It is, however, interesting, from the great probability that the composition was taken directly from nature, and that the artist's wife, Magia Ciarla, and their only surviving son, Raphael, were the originals. The circular picture in S. Andrea is partly copied, by an unknown hand, from one of Raphael's latest works—the Holy Family, now in the Louvre, painted for Francis I. See Passavant, Rafael von Urbino, i. 41, 42.—Ed.]

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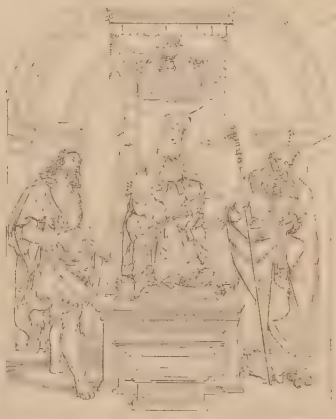
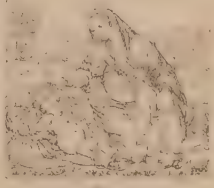
3. With SS. Francis and Jerome, Berlin, P. 19, p. 331.
4. In Casa Connestabile, Perugia, P. 24, p. 332.
5. Del Gran Duca, Florence, P. 35, p. 336.
60. St. Luke painting the Madonna, Raphael looking on, Rome, L. 132, P. 416, p. 387.





1. Naples (from St. Antonio convent, Perugia), P. 30, p. 337.
2. Blenheim (1505), P. 43, p. 338.
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15. Canigiani, Munich, L. 424, P. 68, p. 341.
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19. Panshanger, P. 83, p. 341.
20. Colonna, Berlin, P. 84, p. 341.

grief of the Madonna, are given with indescribable intensity. Various easel-pictures are also attributed, with more or less certainty, to Raphael alone during this time. They bear the general stamp of the Umbrian school, but in its highest beauty. The tender, enthusiastic sentimentality which is the general characteristic of this school, may be said to harmonize well with the character of generous youth. So long as works of art done under such an influence seem to breathe the fresh aspirations of the youthful mind, they must of necessity appear true and pure; but when, at an advanced period of life, this sentiment and aspiration are not ripened into depth of character and energetic decision, then does this youthful tenderness, as we have before remarked in the instance of the Umbrian masters, necessarily degenerate into constraint, and become mere manner and mechanism. The foundation of a noble manhood, undeveloped as it is in the early works of Raphael, is nevertheless apparent in his pure and clear conceptions; his youthful efforts are essentially youthful, and seem to contain the earnest of a high development. This it is which invests his early productions with so peculiar and great an interest. A few may be mentioned which are tolerably well authenticated. First, some Madonnas; two are in the Berlin Museum. In the one, the Madonna reads in a book; the Child on her lap holds a goldfinch in his hand (1).[1] The attitude of the mother is unaffected and simple; the perfectly oval countenance has an expression of peace and repose —not free, however, from constraint; the Child is not beautiful; the forms are as yet awkwardly rendered; the attitude is affected.[2] A second picture of perhaps two years earlier date, with heads of St. Francis and St. Jerome introduced below the Virgin (3), is better. Here, the countenance of the Madonna, who turns affectionately to the Child with an expression of the deepest, most fervent feeling, is equally

[1] In order to enable the reader to identify each Madonna picture, we add the number corresponding with that in the illustration.—Ed.]

[2] Between these two pictures Passavant places (ii. 14) the small pictures of various Predellas: a Baptism of Christ, and a Resurrection, in the Munich Gallery—an Adoration of the Kings, in the castle of Christiansburg, near Copenhagen—the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel, in Mr. Emerson's possession in London—and others.

tender and gentle as in the other picture, and is free from its defects; the figure of the Child is better drawn: the heads of the two saints are very excellent, with a character of gentleness and piety. The general arrangement is agreeably and judiciously contrived, and the picture is executed with great softness and warmth. Similar to it, but much more finished, is a small round picture of the Madonna in the Casa Connestabile (4) at Perugia. The Virgin (a half-figure) stands in a landscape, reading, while the Child in her arms also looks into the book. The head of the Virgin indicates a progressive development of the freest, finest kind; the Child, too, is lovely. It is a miniature painting of inexpressibly delicate and beautiful execution. Of somewhat earlier date, probably, was the Madonna of the Countess Anna Alfani at Perugia, also one of the loveliest pictures of this style. The Virgin, with her eyes cast down in humility, is holding the Child, who is standing upon her lap: above are two cherub heads.

Next to these may be mentioned a large altar-piece—an Adoration of the Kings (not painted later than 1503), which has passed from the Ancajani family of Spoleto to the Berlin Museum. The general motives of this rich composition resemble the Umbrian school, in the treatment of similar subjects; the same resemblance is observable in the attitudes of the figures, and in the management of the drapery; but the heads are remarkable for a peculiar refinement, and the forms have great purity and delicacy. The Child lies on a coverlet on the ground, in the middle of the picture. Infantine loveliness is pleasingly developed in its form. On one side, where the stall is, the mother reverentially kneels, and next to her, two beautiful angels, like attendants, kneel likewise; St. Joseph stands behind her. On the other side the kings approach with a numerous retinue; the first, dignified and serious, is already kneeling down: the vivacity of youth expressed in the head of the youngest king is very interesting: three graceful angels, borne on clouds, are singing above these groups. A rich arabesque frame encloses the whole: in the upper corners are represented two sibyls; in the lower, two saints. This picture is painted in distemper (*a guazzo*), on

canvas, and has, alas! suffered so much from damp that the colours are not only faded, but in some parts have fallen off, leaving the well-felt preparatory outline visible.[1] A picture very similar to this in composition is in the gallery of the Vatican. The Virgin kneels on one side of the Infant, Joseph on the other; in the middle distance are the shepherds; in the background the kings advance to worship. The picture appears, however, to have come from the studio of Perugino, for, though we recognise the hand of Raphael in some parts, in others that of Lo Spagna and other less important artists is visible.[2] Another important picture of this time, which shows the progress of the young painter, is the Coronation of the Virgin, painted for the church of S. Francesco at Perugia, in 1503, but now in the Vatican In the upper part, Christ and the Madonna are throned on clouds and surrounded by angels with musical instruments; underneath, the disciples stand around the empty tomb. In this lower part of the picture there is a very evident attempt to give the figures more life, motion, and enthusiastic expression than was before attempted in the school (for instance in the beautiful heads of three youths looking upwards), an effort which, owing to the want of complete practical mastery, has occasioned several failures and not a little mannerism, though unquestionably with some beautiful exceptions. The Christ, in expression at least, is unsuccessful; but the head, figure, and mien of the Virgin are modest and beautiful. The predella was adorned with elegant miniature-like pictures of the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Kings, and the Presentation in the Temple: they are in the same gallery.[3]

[1] See Dr. Waagen, 'Über das Gemälde Raphaels aus dem Hause Ancajani,' in the Museum "Blätter für bildende Kunst," 1834, No. 18. Doubts have been raised as to whether this picture is entirely by Raphael. In point of composition it belongs unquestionably to the school, which is proved by the picture in the Vatican, and also by other school pictures of the same subject, only that it is finer and better understood here than in the repetitions. Setting this aside, however, and granting that the very conventional character of the drapery tells against our argument, yet there is no question that the exquisitely beautiful and intellectual heads are the work of Raphael, since neither his master nor his fellow-pupils could have created such.

[2] [The head of Joseph is probably by Raphael.—Ed.]

[3] For other smaller works of this description, see Passavant, i. 69, and ii. 25.

The works of Raphael, in conjunction with Pinturicchio, in the Libreria of the Duomo at Siena, also belong to this period. But his participation in this undertaking appears to have been limited to some designs: two beautiful drawings by him for these subjects are still preserved; one is in the Uffizj at Florence; the other in the Casa Baldeschi at Perugia. They are greatly superior in delicacy of feeling, grace, and freedom to the paintings in the Libreria; thus proving that Raphael could have had no share in the execution of the latter.

After these works Raphael appears to have quitted the school of Perugino and to have commenced an independent career: he executed at this time some pictures in the neighbouring town of Città di Castello. With all the features of the Umbrian school, they already show the freer impulse of his own mind,—a decided effort to individualize. The most excellent of these, and the most interesting example of this first period of Raphael's development, is the Marriage of the Virgin (Lo Sposalizio), inscribed with his name, and the date 1504, and at present in the Brera at Milan. The arrangement is simple and beautiful:—Mary and Joseph stand opposite to each other in the centre; the high priest, between them, joins their hands; Joseph is in the act of placing the ring on the finger of the bride: beside Mary is a group of the virgins of the Temple; near Joseph are the suitors, who break their barren wands,—that which Joseph holds in his hand has blossomed into a lily, which, according to the legend, was the sign that he was the chosen one.[1] In the background is the lofty Temple, adorned with a peristyle.[2] With much of the stiffness and constraint of the old school, the figures are noble and dignified; the countenances, of the sweetest style of beauty, are expressive of a tender, enthusiastic melancholy, which lends a peculiar charm to this subject, inappropriate as it is in more animated representations.

[1] [See the Flos Sanctorum and Evang. Mariæ.—Ed.]

[2] [This beautiful architectural design, it appears, was copied (but very much improved) from a picture of the same subject by Perugino, now in the Museum of Caen in Normandy. The general form and proportions were probably suggested in the first instance by Brunelleschi's design for the octagon (externally sixteen-sided) chapel of the Scolari annexed to the church Degl' Angeli at Florence; the building itself remained unfinished.—Ed.]

In the year 1504 Raphael painted a Christ on the Mount of Olives, at Urbino, a picture of noble composition and of the most delicate execution, now in the possession of Prince Gabrielli at Rome.[1] It is remarkable here to observe how obviously Raphael was constrained by the limits prescribed by his school. Judas and his myrmidons are here sweet and dignified forms, who seem to harbour anything but violence and treachery in their hearts. The two graceful little pictures also, in the Louvre, St. George and St. Michael, appear to have been painted at this time for the Duke of Urbino: St. George, a noble and slender figure on a white horse, is attacking the dragon with his sword, having already transfixed him with his lance. In the landscape in the background is the figure of the liberated princess. The beautiful and youthful figure of the Archangel Michael, clad in armour, is represented treading on the neck of the dragon and striking at him with his sword. In the dark landscape we see monsters of every kind, condemned souls plagued by demons, and a burning town according to the 8th and 23rd books of Dante's Inferno. The execution of both these little pictures is very careful, but at the same time light and bold. The St. George has been much injured and is much overpainted. The Knight dreaming, a small picture, formerly in the possession of Lady Sykes, and now in the National Gallery at London, is supposed to have been painted a year earlier. It represents a youth in armour lying sleeping under a laurel, with a female form on each side. The one in a crimson robe is offering him a book and a sword; the other, richly dressed, is presenting flowers as symbols of the pleasures of life. This is one of the finest allegories in the manner of Giorgione.

In the autumn of the year 1504 Raphael went to Florence.[2] Tuscan art had at this period attained its highest perfection, and the most celebrated artists were there contending for the palm. New examples were offered to the aspiring spirit of youth, and pointed out the path to excellence. A new æra

[1] [Now in England in the possession of Mr. Coningham.—Ed.]

[2] A record quoted by Gaye, Cartegg. 2, p. 68, proves that Perugino also spent part of the summer of 1505 at Florence. According to a note of certain expenses, ib. p. 89, it would seem that Leonardo da Vinci at all events visited Florence in the summer of 1505, and Michael Angelo the same.

now commences in Raphael's development: from this period begins his emancipation from the confined manner of Perugino's school; the youth now ripened into independent manhood, and acquired the free mastery of form. If the earlier works of Raphael are the expression of his own mild spirit, the greater part of those which immediately follow are characterized by an unconstrained and cheerful conception of life.[1]

At this time the celebrated Madonna del Granduca (5) is said to have been executed. This, though generally displayed in the Pitti gallery, is the private possession of the Grand Ducal family of Tuscany. Here the Madonna holds the infant tranquilly in her arms, and looks down in deep thought. Although slightly and very simply painted, especially in the nude, this picture excels all Raphael's previous Madonnas in that wonderful charm which only the realisation of a profound thought could produce. We feel that no earlier painter had ever understood to combine such free and transcendent beauty with an expression of such deep foreboding. This picture is the last and highest condition of which Perugino's type was capable.

The Madonna also belonging to the Duke of Terra Nuova at Naples appears to have been the creation of this time. The Virgin is represented sitting in a rocky landscape, with the Child on her lap, who, together with the little Baptist, is holding a scroll. A third child is leaning at the Virgin's knee, gazing tenderly up at the infant Saviour.

Raphael's visit to Florence must, however, have been but of short duration,[2] for in the succeeding year we find him

[1] The influence of the cartoons by Leonardo and Michael Angelo is alluded to at p. 286. On Raphael's relation to Fra Bartolommeo, see p. 318; to Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, p. 325.

[2] Here it will be right to mention that fresco of the Last Supper, discovered in October, 1845, in what was formerly the convent of S. Onofrio at Florence (Via Faenza, No. 4771), although we have not yet been able to decide in our own mind whether it be really a work of Raphael's. The question of its genuineness has brought forward many estimable authorities for and against, to whom we should much prefer merely to refer the reader, were it not that the view of Raphael's whole course of development depends too much on this at all events very interesting fresco for us to withhold such opinions as we have formed.

The first general impression caused by this picture is, that it is a work of Pinturicchio—or one of not purely Florentine origin, but combined of mixed

employed on several large works in Perugia; these show for the first time the influence of the Florentine art in the purity, fulness, and intelligent treatment of form; at the same time many of the motives of the Peruginesque school are still apparent. The first of these works which claims our notice was that executed for the convent of S. Antonio of Padua, at Perugia, once in the possession of the Colonna family at Rome, now in the royal palace at Naples (8).[1] It represents the Madonna and Child on a throne, in a heavy style of architecture, adorned with a canopy. On the steps of the throne the little St. John worships the infant Christ, who blesses him, while the Virgin gently draws him nearer. The infant Christ,

Peruginesque and Florentine influences. An unprepared spectator would scarcely suppose it to be the production of Raphael. Not only do the somewhat broad heads differ materially from the type of his Coronation of the Virgin, of his Sposalizio, and his fresco at S. Severo—not only is the firm and well-practised handling utterly opposed to Raphael's early timid touch (see, for example, the fresco at S. Severo), but the composition is in itself an argument against the supposition. It is psychologically improbable that Raphael, impressed as he was with the most powerful works of Leonardo da Vinci, and also perhaps with those of Michael Angelo, should, at the moment when his artistic tendencies were most strongly excited in a new direction, have resigned himself passively to the old traditional mode of representing this subject—a mode which the Ghirlandaj had practised—and that at a time when the fame of Leonardo's Last Supper had spread far and wide, and sketches or descriptions must, at all events, have reached him. Granting even the reading of the very doubtful inscription on the upper border of the robe of the St. Thomas, viz. "R(a)PH(ael) UR(binus) MD et V," it proves nothing for the whole picture, but can only be taken as evidence in favour of that separate and certainly extremely beautiful head. In other cases, for instance, in the church flag of Città di Castello, in la Belle Jardinière, &c., Raphael has not hesitated to inscribe his name upon the robe of the principal figure, even though it were that of the First Person of the Trinity. External evidence also makes the idea of Raphael's being the author of this work almost incredible. Florence, in the year 1505, overflowed with native talent, and, in part, of the first order—with professors who were very tenacious of the intrusion even of distinguished foreign artists, to say nothing of one who, in that circle at least, was an unknown youth. Besides this, the short period of Raphael's first visit to Florence must have been employed with other things, and not with an extensive work which would have engrossed him exclusively. A new world of works of art, from Masaccio's frescoes to the latest and finest productions of his contemporaries, lay suddenly open before him; and if there was one period of his life in which we may be sure that new impressions were working actively in his mind, it was this.

Meanwhile the history of art can only gain by investigations of this kind: a truly conclusive argument, whatever it may be, will be willingly admitted by every one.

[1] Rumohr assigns a somewhat earlier date to this picture. Ital. Forsch. iii. 32.

at the request of the sisterhood, is clothed in a little shirt. On the sides are St. Peter, St. Catherine, St. Paul, and St. Dorothea.[1] In the lunette over the picture is God the Father—a half-figure, with two adoring angels, one on each side. The draperies in this picture, particularly in the powerful figures of the apostles, are already more free and broad: the heads of the men are dignified, those of the women tender and earnest, particularly that of St. Catherine, which is full of grace: the two children are beautifully artless. The small subjects of the predella are now dispersed. The Christ on the Mount of Olives is in the collection of Mr. Samuel Rogers, in London; the Christ bearing his Cross, at Mr. Miles's of Leigh Court; and the Dead Christ lamented by the Women and the Disciples, in the possession of Mr. Whyte, of Barron Hill, Derbyshire.[2]

Two other pictures are inscribed with the date 1505: one an altar-piece for the church of the Serviti at Perugia, now at Blenheim Castle, the seat of the Duke of Marlborough. It represents the Madonna and Child on a throne, with St. John the Baptist and St. Nicholas of Bari (9)—a picture of surpassing beauty and dignity. Besides the dreamy intensity of feeling of the school of Perugia, we perceive here the aim at a greater freedom and truth of nature, founded on thorough study. The centre picture of the predella—the Preaching of St. John the Baptist—is at Bowood, the seat of the Marquis of Lansdowne. (The small, so-called Pietà, belonging to Count Tosi at Brescia, representing the risen Saviour with the crown of thorns, and in the act of benediction, appears also to belong to the year 1505. The picture is charmingly executed and in good preservation.)

The second is a fresco of some size in the lunette of a chapel in S. Severo at Perugia. Christ is in the centre, with the dove of the Holy Spirit above and two youthful angels beside him. Over the group is God the Father, with two

[1] [According to Passavant, St. Rosalia. Both are generally crowned with roses, but St. Dorothea has sometimes a sword, and St. Rosalia is usually dressed as a nun.—Ed.]

[2] [The Dead Christ passed from the possession of Count Rechberg to that of Sir Thomas Lawrence, and then became the property of Mr. Whyte, of Barron Hill. Two single figures in the predella, St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua, are in the Dulwich Gallery.—Ed.]

Raphael's first fresco, painted at S. Severo at Perugia

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angels; this part of the picture is much injured. On each side of the middle group, and somewhat lower, are three saints, seated. It is a very grand composition, and reminds us, on the one hand, of Fra Bartolommeo's now ruined fresco in S. Maria Nuova at Florence, as well as of older paintings, and on the other it may be considered as the original of the upper portion of Raphael's own celebrated 'Disputa' in the Vatican.[1] The figures of the saints are very dignified: the Christ is beautiful, and with a mild expression; and the angels—at least the one on the left of the Saviour, folding his hands on his breast—most interesting and graceful. The drapery, although still severe, is well executed in grand lines and masses. The painting has unfortunately suffered materially, and the upper group is almost entirely destroyed. Under it is a niche, on each side of which are three saints, painted by Perugino in 1521, and painfully showing the weakness of the surviving master.

After finishing these works Raphael appears to have returned to Florence, where he remained (with the exception of some visits to Urbino and Perugia[2]) until the middle of the year 1508. The early paintings executed during this period betray, as might be expected, many reminiscences of the Peruginesque school, both in conception and execution; the later ones follow in all essential respects the general style of the Florentines of this time.

One of the earliest of these is the Holy Family with the Palm-tree (12), formerly in the Orleans collection, and now in the gallery of the Earl of Ellesmere, in London. It is a round picture: the Madonna sits under a fan-palm, holding the infant Christ on her lap; Joseph kneeling presents flowers to him. This last figure is either by an inferior hand, or has been entirely painted over.

To this picture may be added the Virgin in the Meadow (11), in the Belvedere gallery at Vienna. The Madonna is here represented in a beautiful landscape, and with both hands supports the infant Christ, who stands before her: she turns

[1] [The subject of Theology, painted by Raphael in the Vatican, and generally called the 'Disputa (del Sacramento).'—Ed.]

[2] [And perhaps Bologna: see Passavant, i. 95.—Ed.]

with looks of love to the little St. John, who kneeling at the side offers a reed cross to his companion:—a picture of tender grace and sweetness, which shows the influence of Leonardo more than that of any other master in the expression of the heads, in the forms of the children, and even in the drapery, and in the deep brownish tones of the landscape. Two other pictures show a close affinity with this composition—the one is the Madonna del Cardellino (10), in the tribune of the Uffizj at Florence: here the little St. John presents a goldfinch to the infant Christ; hence the name of the picture. The form and countenance of the Madonna are of the purest beauty; her whole soul seems to breathe holiness and peace. John also is extremely sweet; but the figure of the infant Christ does not fulfil the artist's intention, which appears to have been to represent the seriousness and dignity of a divine being in a childlike form; both the figure and expression are rather stiff and affected. The third of these pictures is the so-named Belle Jardinière (21), inscribed 1507, in the gallery of the Louvre. It belongs to the latter part of Raphael's residence in Florence. In composition it certainly resembles the two last mentioned, but all that was unsatisfactory and incomplete in them has here disappeared. The sweetest cheerfulness, grace, and innocence breathe from this picture. The Madonna sits among flowering shrubs, as in a garden (whence, perhaps, the name of the picture); Christ stands at her knee, while St. John kneels in childlike devotion. Unfortunately, the picture has been much injured, and is much overpainted. An old copy, which in later times has passed through many hands, is falsely given out as the original, and is probably the work of a Flemish artist.

It is interesting to observe Raphael's progress in the small pictures which he painted in Florence—half-figures of the Madonna with the Child in her arms. In this instance, again, the earliest of the series are characterized by the deepest, tenderest feeling, while a freer and more cheerful enjoyment of life is apparent in the later ones. The Madonna della Casa Tempi, in Florence (17), now in the Munich Gallery, is the first of this series. Here the Virgin is tenderly pressing the Child, who nestles closely to her, and appears to whisper

MADONNA DEL CARDELLINO; by Raphael, now in the Tribune of the Uffizj at Florence. page 336.

words of endearment. In this picture (14), now in the possession of M. Delessert, at Paris, the Madonna is represented standing: in the three following she is sitting. In one, the infant Christ looks out of the picture; he sits on the Madonna's lap and holds by the bosom of her dress. The most simple of these is a small picture originally in the Orleans Gallery, and which was some years ago in the possession of M. Neuwenhuys, of London. In the highly executed but very spirited picture from the Colonna palace (20) at Rome, and now in the Berlin Museum, the same childlike sportiveness, the same maternal tenderness, are developed with more harmonious refinement. The third, in the possession of Earl Cowper, at Panshanger (19), and inscribed with the year 1508, borders on mannerism in the forward boyish expression of the Child; the countenance of the Madonna is, however, extremely sweet.[1] The fine composition of the Madonna with the Pink (16), the original of which is not known, belongs also, doubtless, to this Florentine time. The Virgin is holding the Child upon her lap, who is in lively action, and reaches gaily towards the pink, which she is giving to him. In the background is a window through which we see into the open air. A school picture of this subject was in the possession of the Cav. Camuccini —an excellent, but apparently free repetition, probably by Sassoferrato, is in the collection of Herr Mäglin at Basle.

A larger representation of a Holy Family (15), belonging to the middle time of Raphael's Florentine period, is in the Munich Gallery. In the composition of this picture we observe a particular study of artificial grouping. On one side of the picture the Madonna, half kneeling, half sitting, leans over toward the other figures; before her is the infant Christ: on the other side is Elizabeth in a similar attitude, and before her the little St. John: behind the women stands Joseph; thus completing the group in a strictly pyramidal shape.[2] Although this disposition appears somewhat formal,

[1] [Another Madonna and Child, of an earlier date (perhaps 1505), is in the same collection. See Passavant, Rafael von Urbino, ii. 37.—Ed.]

[2] This extreme regularity may have been less perceptible before two groups of infant angels' heads in the upper part of the picture were removed, after having been spoilt by a so-called restoration in the Düsseldorf Gallery. In the Corsini Palace at Rome there is a Holy Family attributed to Fra Barto-

and although the picture in other respects betrays an imperfect practice, yet even here there are many beautiful parts; and the playful affection of the children, on whom the parents look down, not without variety of action, at least accounts for a unity of feeling corresponding with the regularity of the arrangement.

Another Holy Family, half-figures, in the Gallery of the Hermitage of St. Petersburg (13) — to judge from the engraving — also appears to belong to this period. There is an evident leaning toward the direct imitation which characterized the *naturalisti*[1] in the head of St. Joseph looking down on the Child, which is no longer observable in the later works of Raphael, and may probably be ascribed to the influence of his friend Fra Bartolommeo. In the Oratory of the Escurial there is a Madonna, with the Child seated upon a Lamb (23), after a motive by Leonardo, while Joseph, leaning upon a staff, is looking on. The picture is only underpainted, and is probably one of those which Raphael at his departure from Rome left unfinished.

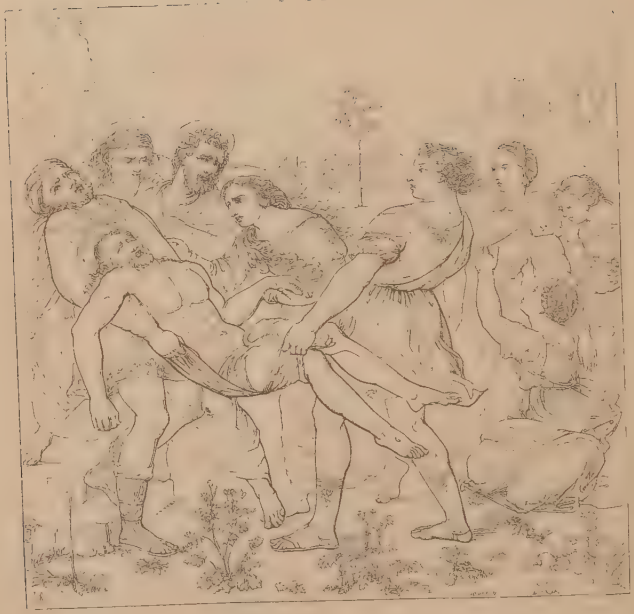
One of the best pictures of the latter part of this Florentine period is the St. Catherine in the possession of Mr. Beckford,[2] formerly in the Aldobrandini Gallery at Rome. The saint, a half-figure, stands leaning on the wheel, and looks up with heavenly enthusiasm to the ray of light descending upon her. Few even of the great masters have succeeded in giving this expression with so much truth, life, and interest.

Besides these pictures, intended more for the purpose of domestic devotion, Raphael executed two large altar-pictures at Florence. One is the Madonna di Pescia (22), or del Baldacchino, in the Palazzo Pitti at Florence. The Madonna and Child are on a throne: on one side stand St. Peter and

lommeo, of almost the same composition, only without the St. Anna, so that the group, which is well united in the Munich picture, here seems to fall asunder. The priority of composition belongs unquestionably to Raphael, and I am tempted to think that the picture in the Corsini Palace, on account of its mannered execution, is not by Bartolommeo, but imitated from Raphael by one of his scholars.

[1] [The term *naturalisti* is applied by Italian, and *naturalistas* by Spanish writers on Art, to painters of various schools, who imitated nature without sufficient selection.—Ed.]

[2] [Now in the National Gallery.—Ed.]



THE ENTOMBMENT : by Raphael now in the Borghese Gallery at Rome.

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St. Bruno; on the other, St. Anthony and St. Augustine; at the foot of the throne two boy-angels hold a strip of parchment with musical notes inscribed on it; over the throne is a canopy (*baldacchino*), the curtains of which are held by two flying angels. The picture is not deficient in the solemn majesty suited to a church subject; the drapery of the saints, particularly that of St. Bruno, is very grand; in other respects, nowever, the taste of the *naturalisti* prevails, and the heads are in general devoid of nobleness and real dignity. In the colour of the flesh the picture forcibly reminds us of Fra Bartolommeo. Raphael left it unfinished in Florence; and in this form, with an appearance of finish which is attributable to restorations, it has descended to us.

The second altar-picture, the Entombment of Christ, painted for the church of S. Francesco at Perugia, is now in the Borghese gallery at Rome. The picture is divided into two groups: on the left, the body of the Saviour is borne to the grave by two men, with great energy of action. Next to the body are Mary Magdalen, Peter, and John, variously expressing the deepest sympathy. On the right, supported by women, the Madonna sinks down fainting. This is the first of Raphael's compositions in which an historical subject is dramatically developed; but, as regards this aim, the task exceeded the powers of the youthful master. The composition wants repose and unity of effect; the movements are frequently exaggerated and mannered. The evidence of emotion, which in single heads is powerfully expressed, does not in all appear to be the immediate ebullition of feeling.[1] But the body of the Saviour is extremely beautiful; the noble and harmonious forms, the expression of a sublime sorrow in the head falling back, place this figure among the greatest master-works. The execution of the picture is beautiful but severe. The lunette, containing the First Person of the Trinity with upraised hands, among angels, is now placed above an altar-piece

[1] [Rumohr (Ital. Forsch. iii. 70) also appears dissatisfied with this picture. Its imperfections, if any must be admitted, are to be attributed partly to the subject, which, as the author observes, was new to the great artist, and cost him unusual efforts, as is apparent from the great number of drawings and studies for the picture still remaining. Raphael was twenty-four years of age when it was done.—Ed.]

by Orazio Alfani, in the church of S. Francesco at Perugia. The subjects of the predella are in the gallery of the Vatican. They are small chiaroscuro pictures of Faith, Hope, and Charity, in circular medallions, with genii at their side—graceful, pleasing compositions, light and spirited in execution.

A third large altar-piece, from the cathedral of Pisa, existed a few years ago in Mr. Solly's collection at London.[1] It contains the Assumption of the Virgin, with St. John, St. Philip, St. Paul, and St. Francis standing and kneeling round the grave below. The composition belongs decidedly to Raphael's Florentine period, though his execution is probably limited to the St. John and St. Francis, and the heads of the cherubim. The rest may have been finished by Ridolfo Ghirlandajo.

As early as 1506 Raphael painted for the Duke of Urbino another St. George, which recalls in many ways the first little picture; only here the Dragon is killed by the spear alone, and the Princess, instead of fleeing, is on her knees. At this time the picture is hanging with an ever-burning lamp before the large portrait of the Emperor Alexander, in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.[2]

Raphael's earliest mythological piece, to which he was probably incited by the celebrated antique group in the Libreria of the cathedral of Siena, belongs to this time: this is the picture of the Three Graces in the late Lord Dudley and Ward's gallery.[3] The sweet gracefulness of the still Peruginesque expression is here united charmingly with a rich and noble treatment of the nude, and with the finest simplicity of grouping. The three figures are standing in a landscape, each with one hand on her neighbour's shoulder, and a golden ball in the other.

We close the series belonging to this period with a few portraits. — Raphael's own likeness, in the collection of the

[1] See Waagen, England, vol. ii. p. 3.

[2] [This picture was sent as a present from Guidubaldo, Duke of Urbino, to Henry VII. of England. It probably left this country when the collection of Charles I. was dispersed, and afterwards passed through various hands.—Passavant, Rafael von Urbino, ii. 57.—Ed.]

[3] In the year 1835 this picture was no longer there. See Waagen, England, vol. ii. p. 204.

portraits of artists painted by themselves, in the Uffizj at Florence, is beautiful, simple, and mild—the mirror of the pure mind from which emanated his earlier works.—The portraits of Angelo Doni, a Florentine amateur, and his wife, in the Pitti Palace at Florence, are natural in conception, but rather hard and cold in execution. These two pictures, long lost and sought for, have but lately come to light.—An excellent portrait in the tribune of the Uffizj, at all events worthy of Raphael, bore the name of Maddalena Doni before these were found.—Two profile-heads of monks, in the Florentine Academy, are admirably painted ; and, though severe, are full of feeling.—The portrait of a young man of the house of Riccio, now in the Munich Gallery (No. 577), is also attributed to Raphael, and, on account of its more Peruginesque mode of treatment, to a period anterior to his visit to Florence. The background consists of an architectural view.

THE STANZE OF THE VATICAN.

About the middle of the year 1508, Raphael, then in his twenty-fifth year, was invited to the court of Pope Julius II., in order to decorate the state apartments of the Papal residence in the Vatican with the works of his pencil. Those already begun by earlier masters were destroyed, to give sufficient space to the greater artist.[1] A few only of the works of Razzi, of whom we shall speak hereafter, and of Perugino, were allowed to remain. With these works commences the third period of Raphael's development. In these he reached the highest perfection. The subjects, more important than any in which he had hitherto been occupied, gave him the full consciousness of his powers ; the proximity of Michael Angelo, who at this time began the paintings of the Sistine Chapel, animated him with noble emulation ; the world of classical antiquity, which in Rome more than in any place invites observation, gave the noblest direction to his mind. The extensive and numerous works in which he was engaged obliged him at once to collect a great number of artists to

[1] [They were destroyed in consequence of the impression produced on the Pope by Raphael's first frescoes. See Vasari, Vita di Raff.—Ed.]

take part in these labours under his direction, and it was their endeavour to make the style of their master their own.

At the period in question, shortly before the struggle of the German Reformation, the Papal power had reached its proudest elevation: it had gained an extension of territory and an increase of warlike resources more considerable than at any former period; while its spiritual influence over the nations of Christendom was incalculable. To glorify this power—to represent Rome as the centre of spiritual culture—were the objects of the paintings in the Vatican. They cover the ceilings and walls of three chambers and a large saloon, which now bear the name of the "Stanze of Raphael." He received in payment for each of the large wall pictures the sum of 1200 gold scudi. They are all executed in fresco;[1] those on the arched ceilings of the three chambers are variously arranged; but each wall in these rooms is covered with one large picture, the upper part of which is semicircular, corresponding with the form of the ceiling: the dado throughout is painted in chiaroscuro, the subjects alluding to those of the principal frescoes, which again refer to the immediately corresponding ones on the ceiling. The space on two walls of each chamber is broken by a window, which compelled the artist to a peculiar arrangement. In the larger saloon he pursued a different plan. At a later period, when the Popes had taken up their residence in the Quirinal palace, the Stanze were neglected: in the beginning of the last century the paintings were covered with dirt, and the chiaroscuro subjects of the dado almost destroyed. Carlo Maratti, a meritorious artist of his time, cleaned the frescoes with great care, and restored the smaller compositions underneath as well as he could. There is, consequently, so much of Maratti's own work, and even of his composition, in these latter, which are besides less important works, that we shall not again refer to them in the following descriptions.

The execution of the paintings in the Stanze occupied Raphael during the whole of his residence in Rome, up to the time of his death, and were only completed by his scholars.

[1] [With the exception of two allegorical figures in the Sala di Costantino.—Ed.]

The order in which they were painted does not correspond with their relative local position. We shall describe them according to the order of time.[1]

I. CAMERA DELLA SEGNATURA.

The paintings of this apartment, the first in the Vatican which Raphael embellished, were finished in 1511. The subjects comprehend Theology, Poetry, Philosophy, and Jurisprudence, *i. e.* the representation of those high pursuits which belong to the more elevated tendencies of human nature. They consist of the following works.

The Paintings on the Ceiling.

Four round pictures are in the centre of the triangular compartments of the groined ceiling; between them are four others of an oblong shape.[2] In the round pictures the above-mentioned moral tendencies are personified by allegorical female figures of noble air, throned in the clouds in divine serenity and repose; each is characterized, not only by symbols, but by her individual qualities of form, movement, and expression. At the side of each the space is filled with beautiful *genii*, who hold tablets with inscriptions referring to each personification. The figure of Poetry is distinguished above all by its beauty; her countenance expresses a sweet complacency and a serene inspiration. Of the square side-pictures, that next to Theology represents the Fall of Man, a picture of simple and most harmonious composition, perhaps the most beautiful treatment of this subject; next to Poetry is the Punishment of Marsyas; next to Philosophy, a female figure, who examines a terrestrial globe; next to Jurisprudence, the Judgment of Solomon.[3] All

[1] [More detailed descriptions of these frescoes will be found in the Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, before quoted, and in Passavant. Bellori, Fuseli, Duppa, and Quatremère de Quincy may also be consulted. Of the fanciful and erudite essays of D'Hankerville, one only, relating to the 'Parnassus' (Poetry), appears to have been published. See Longhena's Italian translation of Quat. de Quincy's Histoire de la Vie de Raphael, p. 85.—ED.]

[2] These last extend across the edges of the vaulting, and consequently appear as if bent round them. Raphael was not answerable for this, since he was obliged to preserve the compartments of the roof, as arranged by his predecessor Razzi, of whose works there still exist some small accessories and arabesques.

[3] According to an ingenious interpretation by Passavant (vol. i. p. 139),

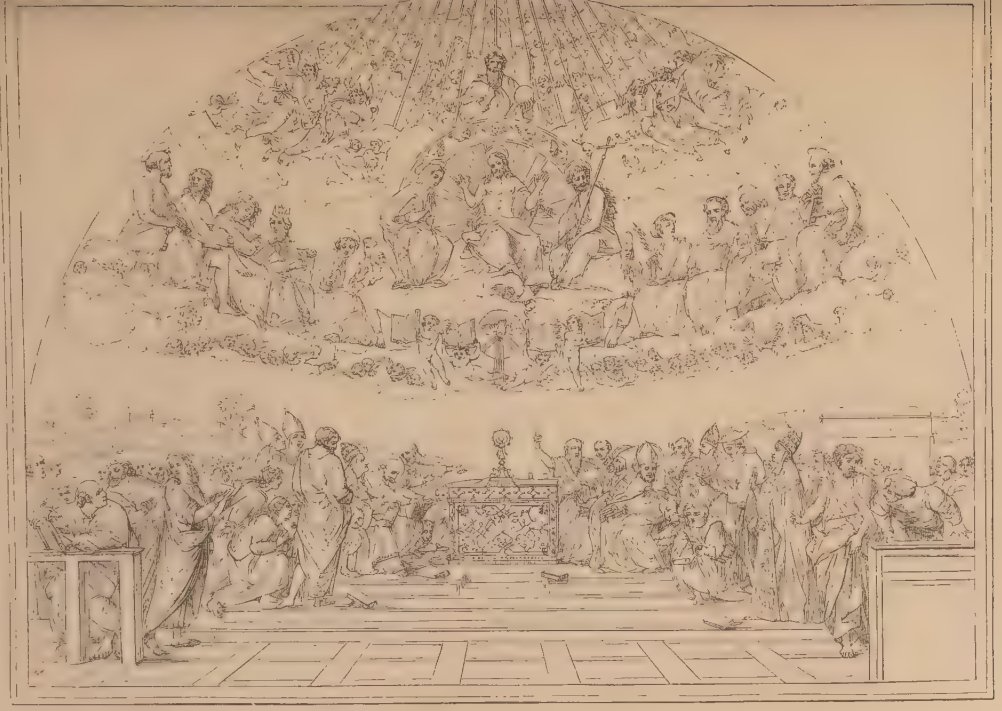
these eight pictures are on a golden ground like mosaic; they remind us occasionally, particularly in the greenish middle tints of the flesh-colour, of the earlier stages of Raphael's progress.

The Paintings on the Walls.

The allegorical figures on the ceiling form, as it were, the title of the large pictures on the walls. These are arranged in the following order.

1. THEOLOGY (erroneously called "La Disputa del Sacramento").—It is divided into two principal parts: the upper half represents the glory of Heaven, in the solemn manner of the early painters. In the centre is the Saviour, with outstretched arms, throned on the clouds; on his right, the Virgin, sweet and affectionate in expression and mien, bows before her divine son in heartfelt adoration; on the left is St. John the Baptist. Over the Saviour appears a half-figure of the Almighty, and below him hovers the dove of the Holy Spirit. Around this group, in a half-circle, sit the Patriarchs, the Apostles, and Saints—sublime, dignified figures, with the noblest solemnity and repose in their movements. Over them hover on each side three very beautiful angel-youths; below them, as if supporting the clouds, are a multitude of angel-heads, and four boy-angels hold the books of the Evangelists beside the dove. In the lower half of the picture we see an assembly of the most celebrated theologians of the church. In the centre, raised on steps, is an altar with the host (as the mystical type of the bodily presence of the Saviour on earth). Next to the altar, on each side, sit the four fathers of the Latin church; next to and behind them stand other celebrated teachers of the church. At the extreme ends, on each side, are various groups of youths and men, who press forward to hear the revelation of the holy mystery, some in attitudes of enthusiastic devotion, some

these side pictures are intended to convey allusions to the circular pictures on each side of them. For example, the Fall of Man, between Jurisprudence and Theology, alludes both to Judgment and to Salvation. The punishment of Marsyas is at once the triumph of art, and (in reference to Dante's Paradiso, i. Vs. 19) the symbol of the higher birth. The figure examining a globe points no less to Philosophy than to Poetry; and, finally, the Judgment of Solomon combines admirably Wisdom and Justice.



LA DISPUTA DEL SACRAMENTO; a fresco by Raphael, in the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican. page 346.

THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS, a fresco by Raphael, in the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican. page 347.

POETRY, OR THE PARNASSUS: a fresco by Raphael, in the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican. page 347.

yet doubting and apparently in dispute. All these figures, especially as regards the expression of the heads, are completed with most striking and characteristic individuality, and are enlivened by a conscientious study of detail. It is this careful, almost laborious treatment of separate parts, which marks this fresco as one of the earlier works; in the later ones we observe an increasing attention to general effect. The solemn and severe style of the upper part of the picture, as well as the gold lights, is not to be considered as a blind imitation of the older manner, as some have asserted, but rather as conformable to the mystical meaning of the subject, and on this ground intentionally retained by the artist.

2. Poetry (over and on each side of the window).—In the upper part is seen Apollo with the Muses under laurel-trees, on the heights of Parnassus. The poets of antiquity and of modern Italy are ranged on each side; among them Homer recites inspired verses, which a youth eagerly writes down: behind him are Virgil and Dante. Below, on each side of the window, are two separate groups: on one side Petrarch, Sappho, Corinna, and others are engaged in conversation; on the other Pindar, a very aged figure, speaks with an air of enthusiasm: Horace and another poet listen to him with reverential admiration. These lower groups appear to represent Lyric Poetry in its various branches, whilst in the upper we recognise the poets of the *Epos*. The picture is admirably arranged; the single groups of which it is composed harmonise with one another, and unite, without the appearance of art, in a grand whole. A cheerful, graceful character, corresponding with the poetic life of Italy in Raphael's time, pervades this work, which abounds in refined and noble motives. Yet some of the figures are less excellent: the Apollo himself is not very beautiful; the two Muses seated next to him are, perhaps, placed too symmetrically. In style this work consequently forms the transition to what are called the grander compositions. The painting on the next wall is considered the first of these.

3. Philosophy (better known as the "School of Athens"). —It represents a large atrium in the noble style of Bramante; in it are assembled many teachers of philosophy with their

scholars. A flight of several steps raises the more distant figures above the nearer groups. The former represent the school of the higher philosophy: Plato and Aristotle stand together in the centre, as if disputing on their doctrines. Plato, the representative of Speculative Philosophy, points upwards with uplifted arm; Aristotle stretches his outspread hand toward the earth, as the source of his Practical Philosophy. At each side, extending deeper into the picture, a double row of attentive hearers is seen: next to them, on one side, stands Socrates; some listeners have collected around him, to whom he explains in order (counting on his fingers) his principles and their conclusions. Opposite are placed several persons engaged in different ways, in conversation and study. In the foreground, on both sides, the sciences of Arithmetic and Geometry, with their subordinate studies, occupy separate groups. On the left, as the head of Arithmetic, we observe Pythagoras, who writes upon his knee; several scholars and followers (one with a tablet inscribed with a musical scale), as well as other philosophers, are around him. On the right Archimedes constructs a geometrical figure on a tablet lying on the ground. Several scholars watch its progress; the different degrees of their intelligence are represented most strikingly. Next to them are Zoroaster and Ptolemy, as representatives of Astronomy and Geography, with celestial and terrestrial globes. On the steps, between the two groups, and apart from all, reclines Diogenes the Cynic; a youth, directed by an old man, turns from him to the teachers of a higher philosophy. Near the group of Archimedes, close to the edge of the picture, Raphael himself enters the hall, accompanying his master Perugino; Archimedes is the portrait of Raphael's uncle Bramante.[1] The general arrangement of this painting is most masterly. Plato and Aristotle, with the group of their scholars, are placed together in dignified regularity, without any appearance of stiffness or constraint; on each side and around them greater freedom prevails, with the utmost variety in the attitudes of the figures which compose the groups; while again

[1] [Bramante was from Urbania (formerly called Castel Durante), near Urbino, but not related to Raphael. See Pungileone, Elogio Storico di Raff., p. 114.—Ed.]

the leading masses are still balanced most satisfactorily. The style is grand and free; a picturesque unity of effect seems to have been the artist's aim throughout, and this aim he has attained most perfectly. The taste of design, both in the nude and in drapery, is excellent, and is everywhere guided by the purest sentiment of beauty; the group of youths in particular, collected round Archimedes, is among the most interesting and natural of Raphael's creations.[1]

4. JURISPRUDENCE (above and on each side of the window).—The subjects of this wall are divided into three separate pictures. Over the window, enclosed by the arch, are three sitting female figures—personifications of Prudence, Fortitude, and Temperance, as the virtues without whose aid the science of law cannot be applied to daily life. Prudence is raised above the others, in the centre; in front her countenance is youthful; at the back aged, in allusion to her power of looking into the future and the past.[2] One genius holds a mirror to the former, a second a torch to the latter. Fortitude is personified as an armed woman in a bold attitude, with an oak-branch in her hand and a lion at her side.[3] Temperance holds a bridle. Beautiful genii are introduced beside these figures also, to fill up the space. The two last-mentioned have more animation, which, perhaps, disturbs in some degree the repose that allegorical creations require. At the sides of the window is represented the science of Jurisprudence, in its two divisions of ecclesiastical and civil law. On the larger side, underneath the figure of Temperance, is Gregory XI., seated on the papal throne; he delivers the Decretals to a consistorial advocate. The features of the Pope are those of Julius II.; the figures who surround him are also portraits of individuals composing his court at the time: the heads are full of life and character. On the smaller side, under the figure of Fortitude, is the Emperor Justinian, who delivers the Pandects to Tribonianus. This is a less important picture.

[1] The cartoon for the figures of this composition, with some variations, is in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

[2] [The aged face is contrived to look like a mask, and, to avoid all uncertainty as to this point, it is bearded.—ED.]

[3] It appears to be copied from the allegorical figure of Fortitude in the frescoes of the Cambio at Perugia.

The entire cycle of these paintings thus belongs essentially to the domain of thought. The task allotted to the artist was to conceive pictorially a series of abstract ideas—to embody the immaterial in material forms. Similar attempts had been made at an earlier period, in the time of Giotto and his followers. It will be interesting to review the means employed by a painter like Raphael, at the summit of the art, in the execution of this difficult undertaking, and to consider the success he attained.

In the three first pictures we at once observe a very happy conception in the solemn union of characters celebrated in one or other of the intellectual pursuits represented: they are brought together, as in the "Triumphs of Petrarch," without regard to the time in which they lived, but solely with reference to their spiritual relation, their common efforts toward a high aim. They are thus easily separated into subordinate groups, according to their greater or less efficiency and influence. But it was necessary to form one central point to define the object of their exertions.

In the "Theology" this point is, properly speaking, the Altar with the Sacrament, as the unchanging symbol of redemption, according to the ritual of the Church. The sacrament in itself explains to the Christian spectator the point to which the meditations of the assembled theologians were directed; but after all it is merely a symbol, and presents nothing tangible to the mind or feelings. Hence the glory of Heaven, which represents the Saviour himself, and the Prophets and witnesses of his mission, is introduced above. By this means the picture produces its effect directly upon the mind of the spectator; and so far as he understands the figures of the Christian mythology[1] there is no further difficulty to be explained. With regard to unity of effect, the picture might, however, be criticised; not so much because it is divided into two separate parts, as that neither of these predominates by its mass—that neither, properly speaking, is the principal.

In the "Poetry" the figures of Apollo and the Muses at once explain the subject; they are perfectly intelligible, as

[1] [The term "Christian mythology" is sometimes employed by Protestant writers in alluding to monastic legends.—Ed.]

they belong to a well-known fable. Although the poets are assembled round them in familiar intercourse, the Muses and the god still appear, so to speak, as the hosts—the poets as the guests—of Parnassus. Thus is formed a well-connected whole, as agreeable to thought as to feeling, and the mind of the beholder is attuned to corresponding serenity. The picture is like a refined and pleasing poem: the eye and mind easily comprehend it, while by degrees it unfolds a deeper meaning.

In the "Philosophy," on the contrary, there is no definite explanation of its meaning, no allegorical, no poetical figures (for the statues of Apollo and Minerva, placed in niches at the sides, cannot be considered as such), to explain to us what special interest moves the assembly, at least the upper portion of it.[1] The subject does not present its deeper meaning immediately to our feelings, and prosaic *understanding* must undertake the task of explanation. The master has displayed his art in this instance not so much in the poetical effect of the whole, as in the grand arrangement of the mass and space—in the surpassing beauty of the single groups and figures, which in themselves undoubtedly give complete satisfaction to the eye. It has been asserted that Raphael was embarrassed by the subject, devoid as it would seem to be of dramatic interest. But among the paintings in the Spanish chapel at Florence we have had occasion to notice a subject of a very similar kind, which, notwithstanding all the defects and constraint it betrays in the means of representation, produces a much more direct and powerful effect on the mind and feelings, at least so far as such an effect can be produced by allegory.

In the "Jurisprudence" the unfavourable position of the window, which leaves but a very small space on one side, appears to have occasioned the division of the space into three separate pictures. In consequence of this the master found it necessary in the upper picture to return to an allegorical mode of representation, which allows the expression of several ideas by means of very few figures.

[1] That this remark is not altogether fanciful is proved by the many erroneous interpretations given of the subject in engravings and descriptions immediately after Raphael's death. The authors of these descriptions, it seems, thought they recognised allusions to the Christian religion. See the Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, bd. ii. bu. 1, s. 336.

II. STANZA OF THE HELIODORUS.

The works in this chamber, so called after its principal picture, appear to have directly followed (from the year 1512) the foregoing. The four divisions of the ceiling correspond to the triangular compartments of the groining, and are formed by a decoration intended to represent figured tapestry. The subjects are from the Old Testament, and include the promises of the Lord to the Patriarchs: in allusion, no doubt, to the power of the Church, and analogous to the ancient Christian symbols—

The promise of God to Abraham of a numerous posterity;[1]

The Sacrifice of Isaac;

Jacob's Dream;

Moses and the Burning Bush.

These are simple, grand compositions, but unfortunately much injured, the colour, and consequently the effect, having suffered materially, probably from damp. The four large paintings on the wall refer to the Divine assistance granted to the Church against her foes, and the miraculous corroboration of her doctrines; with a special reference to her relations, ecclesiastical and political, at the period of her foundation.

1. The Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple at Jerusalem: when, as treasurer to the Syrian king Seleucus, he attempted, by his master's command, to plunder the Temple (2 Maccabees, iii.). This representation commemorates the deliverance of the ecclesiastical states from the foes of the apostolic authority, under Julius II., and his preservation of the possessions of the Church. In a larger sense it is the symbol of the Divine protection. We look into the nave of the Temple; in the background is the altar, before which the high-priest kneels in prayer, to avert the threatened danger; a crowd of people surround him; agile youths climb on the pedestal of a column in order to see the ceremony. In the foreground, on the right of the spectator, Heliodorus with his servants appears to have been in the act of dragging away the treasures. Heliodorus lies prostrate under the hoofs of a

[1] [Sometimes called, God appearing to Noah. (See Passavant, Rafael von Urbino, ii. 153.) These four subjects are about to be engraved by Ludwig Gruner.—Ed.]

HELIODORUS ; a fresco by Raphael, in the second Stanza of the Vatican

page 352.

horse, on which sits a figure in golden armour: near him two youths sweep forwards to scourge with rods the despoilers of the Temple. This is a group of extraordinary poetic power; it is like the flash of Divine anger, which strikes the criminal to the earth. Opposite is a dense group of women and children, beautifully varied in action, their countenances expressing astonishment and alarm. Next to them is Pope Julius II., borne to the Temple under a canopy. His presence is intended to indicate the relation of the miraculous event to the circumstances of his time. The picture is a spirited development of an extended action, including within itself both beginning and end; it admirably represents an animated fleeting moment: the apparent absence of interest and emotion in the group around the Pope alone disturbs this effect; it were to be wished that these figures could have exhibited a direct sympathy, a more than extrinsic allusion to the event. This picture exhibits an inimitable reality and grace in the form and action of the figures; as a whole it is executed with a grand freedom, dictated by an attention to the general effect, although it is asserted that many parts are not by the master's own hand.

2. The Mass of Bolsena (above and on each side of the window), a representation of a miracle wrought in the year 1263. A priest who doubted the doctrine of transubstantiation was convinced by the blood which flowed from the host he was consecrating. In the last-mentioned picture we see the protection afforded to the Church in her external relations; in this, her internal security against sceptics and heretics, and the infallibility of the Romish doctrines. It no doubt also contains a reference to the times, to the ferment of mind which preceded the outbreak of the Reformation. The connection of the miraculous event with the existing persons is contrived in a simple, but very masterly and satisfactory manner. Over the window is an altar in the choir of a church: the priest kneels before it, and regards the bleeding wafer with an expression of embarrassment, astonishment, and shame: behind him are choir-boys with tapers in their hands. On the other side of the altar kneels Julius II. before his fald-stool, in prayer, his eyes fixed upon the miracle with a solemn and earnest expression of conviction. At each side of the window is a flight

of steps: on the left, where the officiating priest is, a great number of people press forwards with varied expressions of wonder: before the steps is a group of women and children, whose attention is thus directed to what is passing. On the other side, behind the Pope, some kneeling cardinals and other prelates express different degrees of sympathy: in front of the steps is a part of the Papal Swiss guard. This picture is remarkable not only for its excellent, well-connected composition, but for its highly characteristic figures, the courtly submissiveness of the priests, the rude hardy figures of the Swiss, the various ways in which the people manifest their sympathy, but above all the beautiful *naïveté* of the choir-boys, and of the youths who look over the enclosure of the choir; all this is connected satisfactorily and naturally with the two principal personages. The colouring of this picture has been greatly extolled, and many have, in this instance, placed Raphael on a level with the masters of the Venetian school; this opinion, however, is the result of an extreme partiality:[1] the colouring is warm, but the execution is frequently coarse, so as almost to look like tapestry, thus already evincing an indifference to higher finish, which from this period becomes more and more visible in the frescoes of the Vatican Stanze.

Granting that this broader execution may have been the result of the greater freedom to which Raphael had attained in an artistic conception of nature, and that this freedom may, as usual, easily lead to an abuse of acquired powers, yet accidental circumstances had also a share in producing the change in question. The attention which Raphael had bestowed on the Stanze during the first years of his residence in Rome was now distributed over various other undertakings. The Mass of Bolsena was finished in 1512; in 1513 Julius II. died, and was succeeded in the papal chair by Leo X., a prince who, notwithstanding his finely cultivated taste, appears to have been more inclined to show and splendour on a large scale than to an energetic completion of any single work. Commissions

[1] [In this judgment the author probably stands alone. High authorities at least are agreed in considering this, and indeed all the large paintings in the same Stanza, the finest examples of fresco the art can boast. Titian's frescoes at Padua are less richly and effectively coloured than the Mass of Bolsena and the Heliodorus.—Ed.]

of various kinds from this time occupied the youthful master: the works in the Stanze by degrees fell into the background; much was of necessity left to his scholars, much also in composition was treated even in the beginning with singular negligence. Nevertheless the first three pictures which Raphael executed in these apartments under Leo X. are among the most important works of his pencil. Two of them cover the remaining walls of the Stanza of the Heliodorus.

3. Attila, at the head of his army, induced by the warnings of Pope Leo I., and the threatening apparition of the apostles Peter and Paul, to desist from his hostile enterprise against Rome.—The subject appears to allude to the expulsion of the French from Italy, which Leo X. had effected by the assistance of the Swiss in the year 1513. The Pope and his train occupy one side of the picture. The Pope's features are those of Leo X., and he as well as his retinue are in the costume of the sixteenth century. Above them appear the two apostles with swords in their hands. Attila looks up affrighted at the apparition, while his army, thrown into wild confusion, begins to retreat. In the host of the Hunnish horsemen the movements are powerful, bold, and animated: the papal group is tranquil and unembarrassed; this tranquillity, it must be confessed, is carried so far that the figures have almost the air of simple portraits. There are great beauties in the execution of this picture, but it is not free from mannerism and weakness.

4. The Deliverance of Peter from Prison (above and on each side of a window).—This subject is divided into three parts, each of which contains different moments of the event. Above the window we see through a grating into the interior of the prison: the angel awakens Peter, who sleeps between his guards. At the right of the window, the angel leads him through the guards sleeping on the steps. In both these representations, the arrangement of which is extremely beautiful, the figures are illuminated by the beams of light which proceed from the angel. On the left, the guards are awakened: this group receives its light from the moon and from torches. The painting is particularly celebrated for the picturesque effect of these lights. The subject is supposed to contain an allusion

to the captivity of Leo X., who had been liberated only the year preceding his elevation to the pontificate.

III. STANZA DEL INCENDIO.

On the ceiling of this chamber are four round pictures, in which are represented the Almighty and Christ, in different glories. These are the remains of the works of Perugino. The pictures on the walls, executed about 1515, contain events from the lives of Leo III. and IV. They have probably been chosen with reference to the relation by name to Leo X., and correspond to the general plan of the cycle of the Stanze, which, as before mentioned, is dedicated to the glorification of the papal power. The most important are:—

1. The Fire in the Borgo[1] (a suburb added to Rome by Leo IV.).—The conflagration was miraculously extinguished by the Pope making the sign of the cross. In the background, we see the portico of the old church of St. Peter's: above it are assembled the Pope and the clergy; on the steps of the church, the people who have fled thither for assistance. On each side of the foreground are burning houses. On the left the inhabitants are flying almost naked, variously intent on securing their own safety, and still more anxious to save those dear to them. On the right men are busied in extinguishing the flames; women bear vessels of water to them. In the centre a group of women and children crowd anxiously together, and pray to the Pope for succour. A great number of beautiful and noble figures are brought together in this picture, uniting, through one exciting cause, the greatest variety of agitating passions. In this instance the artist was perfectly free, and could give free scope to his feeling for the grand and graceful in form, without any prejudice to the interest of the subject, although, from the manner in which he has conceived it, the chief action is thrown into the distance, and its most prominent meaning is thus lost to the mind. The figures of the two young women who carry vessels of water, with their drapery tossed in grand folds by the storm,[2] are very beautiful. In the naked

[1] [Better known by its Italian denomination, the 'Incendio del Borgo.'—Ed.]

[2] [That no storm is represented appears by the quiet draperies of the

Allegorical personification of CHARITY, in the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican. page 359.

figures, on the contrary, however beautiful in the principal group, there is a manifest endeavour to display a knowledge of form, perhaps from a wish to rival the powerful figures of Michael Angelo. This effort in some degree weakens the spectator's interest; and it must also be admitted that the colouring of this part of the picture is very defective, the shadows of the flesh being disagreeably black: the assistance of scholars is very apparent throughout the whole work. The other paintings in this apartment are less important as regards their composition.

2. The Victory at Ostia over the Saracens, who had made a descent on Italy in the time of Leo IV.—This fresco is not executed by Raphael.

3. The Oath of Leo III.; by which he purified himself of the crimes of which his enemies accused him before Charlemagne (as Pope he could not be judged by any earthly tribunal).

4. Charlemagne crowned by Leo III. (temporal power flowing from the spiritual).—This picture contains a great number of excellent portraits, in which we recognise the master's own hand.

IV. SALA DI COSTANTINO.

The principal paintings in this large flat-roofed apartment are arranged as hanging tapestries; between them are introduced some figures of canonised popes and allegorical female personifications. The large works represent scenes from the life of the Emperor Constantine, in which he figures as the champion of the church and the founder of its temporal power.

These works were not executed till after Raphael's death, from his drawings, and under the direction of Giulio Romano. It is said that Raphael intended to use oil-colours instead of fresco in this instance, which would have enabled him more easily to correct the work of his scholars. Two of the allegorical figures, Justice and Benignity, are actually painted in oil;[1]—probably immediately after his death, and from his car-

distant figures near the Pope. Raphael probably intended to express the rush of air always observable in the vicinity of a conflagration.—Ed.]

[1] [See Vasari, Vita di Giulio Romano.—Ed.]

toons, as we recognise much of his own noble manner, particularly in the heads. It does not appear that his drawings were used for any other of the allegorical personifications or figures of popes. At a subsequent period, fresco, which is better adapted for paintings on walls, was again resorted to in the completion of these designs.

The principal work of this apartment is the battle between Constantine and Maxentius at the Ponte Molle near Rome. It was executed by Giulio Romano, after a drawing of Raphael's, withot any alteration, except a few unimportant omissions. The design is, therefore, Raphael's own, and it is certainly one of his most important compositions. The moment represented is the crisis of victory: the vanquished are driven to the banks of the Tiber: the Emperor on horseback, at the head of his army, springs over the bodies of his prostrate foes. Figures of Victory hover over his head. He raises his spear against Maxentius—now driven into the river, and contending with the waves in desperation. More distant on the right is seen the last struggle on the shore, and with those who endeavour to save themselves in boats. Still deeper in the picture the fugitives are pursued over the bridge. On the left the battle still rages: here the fury of the victors, the desperate resistance of the last who oppose them, are displayed in various groups. Yet this wild chaos of figures easily resolves itself into separate masses; the various well-expressed moments of the action guide the eye insensibly to the bright central point. The battle, the victory, the defeat, form a dramatic whole, admirably developed, and calculated to produce the grandest impression when the eye has learned to take in the rich variety of figures. And not less striking is the life, the energy of the single forms, and the varied and spirited manner in which they are interwoven with the tragic whole. Many later artists have made this work their model for representations of the same kind, but none have ever equalled its poetic effect. The execution is bold and clever; the sharp hard manner of Giulio Romano can hardly be said to injure the effect of this wildly animated scene.

The other representations in this apartment are of much less interest, partly because the compositions themselves appear to

have been originally less excellent; partly because ill-advised, and even unseemly changes were afterwards made which essentially lessened the dignity of the subjects. The first and most important—the Vision of the Holy Cross before the battle (properly the first of the series)—was executed by G. Romano. The second and least successful—the Baptism of Constantine—is ascribed to Francesco Penni. The third—the Gift of Rome to the Pope—is ascribed to Raffaellino dal Colle. The ceiling is decorated with unimportant paintings of a later date.

THE LOGGIE OF THE VATICAN.

While the later works in the Stanze were in progress Raphael was employed by Leo X. on two other great undertakings in the department of painting. One was the decoration of the Loggie of the Vatican; the other the designs for the tapestries of the Sistine Chapel.

The Loggie are open galleries built round three sides of the court of St. Damasus (the older portion of the Vatican Palace). They were begun by Bramante under Julius II., and completed by Raphael under Leo X. They consist of three stories; the two lower formed by vaulted arcades, the upper by an elegant colonnade. The first arcade of the middle story was decorated with paintings and stuccoes under Raphael's direction: it leads to the Stanze, so that one master-work here succeeds to another. If we consider the harmonious combination of architecture, modelling, and painting displayed in these Loggie—all the production of one mind—there is no place in Rome which gives so high an idea of the cultivated taste and feeling for beauty which existed in the age of Leo X.

The walls round the windows on the inner side of the Loggie are ornamented with festoons of flowers and fruits of great beauty and delicate style. The other paintings, which adorn the walls alternately with small stuccoes, represent animals of various kinds, but consist principally in the so-called arabesque or grotesque ornaments. The lightest and most agreeable play of fancy guides the eye, by graceful changes, from one subject to another. It is the embodying of fabulous poetry, which connects the strangest forms of fancy with those of vivid reality. The stuccoes consist of various architectural

ornaments and an almost innumerable multitude of reliefs, of small busts, single figures, and groups, which principally represent mythological subjects (Leo X. was the zealous friend and patron of classical antiquity): they exhibit a spirited imitation of the antique style, and in some cases of actually existing monuments.

A distinguished scholar of Raphael, in this department of decorative art, Giovanni da Udine, directed the execution of the stuccoes and ornaments. Perino del Vaga was the principal assistant of the master in the figures. This kind of decoration was afterwards frequently imitated by several of Raphael's scholars in other places, and has been adopted by modern artists; whilst the yet unrivalled originals, less from the effect of time than from barbarism and wantonness, are materially injured, and retain but a faint shadow of their original beauty.

The paintings of the vaulted ceiling are on the whole in better preservation; they are the chief ornaments of the arcade, and the subjects just described form only a graceful frame and accompaniment to them. They represent an extensive cycle of events from Scripture, particularly from the Old Testament, and are known by the name of "Raphael's Bible." There is little by his own hand in these works: the superintendence of them was intrusted to Giulio Romano, and they were painted by him and other scholars from drawings by the master. If they do not exhibit the perfection which is apparent in the works of Raphael's own hand, the greater number belong to his happiest compositions, to those of his productions in which his peculiar talent is most happily displayed. The patriarchal simplicity of the histories of the Old Testament, a simplicity so nearly allied to that of classical antiquity, affords materials well adapted to representations of life in its primæval serenity and circumscribed relations; to the development of expression, undisturbed by vague and unsatisfied longings: to the creation of noble forms animated by harmonious feelings. The contemplation of these figures, like pure harmony in music, fully satisfies the mind by excluding every thought of an ulterior change. A few only of the series are of inferior merit in composition.

The roof of this Loggia is formed by thirteen small cupolas, each containing four pictures in a different frame-work; there are fifty-two in the whole: the single cupolas always embrace a series of connected subjects. The following is a list of those in the cupolas, with the names of the scholars of Raphael to whom the execution is ascribed:

1. The Creation.—Giulio Romano.—The figures of the Almighty are after the type defined by Michael Angelo in the roof of the Sistine Chapel, but they do not attain the grandeur of the original.

2. History of Adam and Eve.—Giulio Romano.—The figure of Eve in the subject of the Fall is probably painted by Raphael himself. The Expulsion is an imitation and improvement of Masaccio's, in the Brancacci Chapel at Florence.

3. Subjects from the History of Noah.—Giulio Romano.

4. Subjects from the History of Abraham and Lot.—Francesco Penni.

5. ——— from the History of Isaac.—Francesco Penni.

6. ——— of Jacob.—Pellegrino da Modena.

7. ——— of Joseph.—Giulio Romano.

8. ——— of Moses.—Perino del Vaga, or G. Romano.

9. ——— of Moses.—Raffaellino dal Colle.

10. ——— of Joshua.—Perino del Vaga.

11. ——— of David.—Perino del Vaga.

12. ——— of Solomon.—Pellegrino da Modena.

13. ——— from the New Testament.—Perino del Vaga, or Giulio Romano.[1]

For the second and third arcades of the same story the New

[1] [Thus, one cupola alone contains subjects from the New Testament, originally concluding the series. The subjects of this cupola are, the Adoration of the Shepherds and the Adoration of the Kings (the Gospel preached to rich and poor), and the two essential Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The author has well explained the general purport of the frescoes of the Stanze, beginning with the establishment of the Church under Constantine, and gradually exhibiting its powers and privileges according to the faith of Rome. The third room, containing the subjects of Theology, Poetry, Philosophy, and Jurisprudence, does not so directly belong to this general scheme, and this is explained by the fact of its having been the first planned, when the remaining rooms had been already in part decorated by Pietro della Francesca, Signorelli, and other painters: it was therefore intended to be complete in itself. The works of these painters having been removed, and a fuller scope thus offered to Raphael, he then for the first time appears to have conceived the connected cycle which has been described.—Ed.]

Testament subjects are continued and completed by unimportant artists of a later period.

THE TAPESTRIES.[1]

In the years 1513 and 1514[2] Raphael executed designs for the ten tapestries which were intended to adorn the Sistine Chapel. They represent events from the lives of the Apostles, and are some of Raphael's most important productions. They display not only great dignity and grandeur of form, a most intelligible and harmonious arrangement of the groups, but also such depth and power of thought, such a surprising dramatic development of each event, that historical representation here appears to have attained its highest triumph. A particular attention appears to have been given to the material to be employed, and many decorations are happily introduced which are calculated to produce a beautiful effect in tapestry. Raphael furnished large cartoons in distemper colours, which were either executed by himself or under his immediate direction, chiefly by Francesco Penni.[3] Seven of these cartoons are preserved in the Palace of Hampton Court, in England. The tapestries themselves are kept in some rooms of the Vatican. They were worked from the cartoons, at Arras in Flanders, and hence were called "Arazzi." It is said that the execution was superintended by Bernhard van Orley, a Flemish artist formed in the school of Raphael. They are very masterly in execution, particularly in the flowing, elastic treatment of the forms, and must excite greater admiration when we consider the difficulties of the execution. Alas! they are not only injured in many parts and badly restored, but they have faded so much that the general effect of the colouring is destroyed. According to their original destination, they form two series: the first comprehending the earlier

[1] See W. Gunn, 'Cartonensia, or an Historical and Critical Account of the Tapestries in the Palace of the Vatican,' London, 1831. See also Waagen, England, vol. i. p. 361-382.

[2] According to common belief these were not completed till 1516. Waagen, however, for many reasons, supposes them to have been completed at the date we have given above. According to Gaye's calculation, Cartegg. ii. 222, the tapestries themselves were partially completed, and arrived in Rome, as early as 1518.

[3] [See Vasari, Vita di Francesco il Fattore.—Ed.]

history of the Christian church, in which St. Peter is the principal personage; the second consisting of events from the ministry of St. Paul. The following are the different subjects:—

First Series.

1. The Miraculous Draught of Fishes.—A composition of remarkable serenity and repose. The scene represents the sea of Gennesaret, with a view of the distant shore: in front are two boats with three figures in each; in one boat they are employed in hauling in a net with great effort; in the other, which seems sinking with the weight of the fish, Peter kneels before Christ. The two boats are placed in one line and close to one another, which produces a singular effect, as if the figures were slowly passing before the eye of the spectator. Three herons, standing at the water's edge, stretch up their long necks. This cartoon appears to have been painted almost entirely by Raphael's own hand, as a model perhaps for the others; the keeping is remarkably well observed, the drawing excellent, the colouring clear and deep in tone. It is supposed that the fish and the herons are by Giovanni da Udine.

2. The Delivery of the Keys to Peter.—The Disciples, to whom our Lord appears at the sea of Tiberias after his resurrection, are here assembled. Peter kneels before Christ with the keys in his hand; Christ points with one hand to the keys, with the other to a flock of sheep, in the middle distance, as emblematic of his own words, "Feed my sheep." The Saviour is a dignified figure, the expression and movements of the apostles excellent: John is represented in an attitude of adoring reverence; the others express astonishment in various ways.

3. The Healing of the Lame Man.—The scene is the portico of the Temple, with several rows of richly-ornamented twisted columns, by which the picture is divided into three groups. In the centre the miracle is performed by Peter and John. Among the surrounding people are several very graceful women and beautiful children. The whole gives an impression of festive splendour.

4. The Death of Ananias.—A composition exhibiting

a masterly development of the event. In the centre is a tribune on which the apostles are assembled: on one side several people deliver in their property (according to the established community of goods); among them a woman carefully counts over her money, instead of giving it in with confidence—undoubtedly the wife of Ananias. On the other side, several poor people receive assistance from the common fund. In the foreground Ananias has fallen in convulsions to the ground, as a punishment for his falsehood: those who are beside him start back affrighted. Peter and James (who invoke the wrath of Heaven on Ananias) are figures of grand apostolic majesty.

5. The Stoning of Stephen.—The figure of the saint is particularly excellent. Kneeling, he raises his eyes to heaven (where the Saviour appears with the Eternal Father and angels), and prays to God for forgiveness for his murderers. In the foreground Saul holds the clothes of the witnesses. This cartoon has disappeared.

Second Series.

1. The Conversion of St. Paul.—Paul lies on the ground, thrown from his horse; above him appears the threatening figure of the Saviour: Paul alone sees it; his armed followers witness the awfulness of the Divine presence only in its effects. The expression of fear and consternation is admirably portrayed. The cartoon is lost.

2. The Punishment of the Sorcerer Elymas.—The proconsul, Sergius, is seated on his throne, in the centre of the picture, with lictors, etc., at his side. In front and on the right of the spectator, Paul stretches his arm toward the sorcerer with calm dignity; the latter stands on the left: a sudden darkness has come upon him; he moves with uncertain steps and open mouth, feeling his way with outstretched arms. The sudden fate of the impostor is expressed in this instance with the same mastery as in that of the Ananias. Consternation and wonder are visible in the bystanders: the proconsul turns angrily toward his learned men, who stand embarrassed behind the sorcerer. (Only the upper half of the tapestry from this cartoon exists.)

THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL; a tapestry of the Sistine series, in the Vatican. page 366.

THE STONING OF ST. STEPHEN; a tapestry of the Sistine series in the Vatican page 366.

3. Paul and Barnabas at Lystra.—A festal procession, with a victim (the whole imitated from an antique bas-relief), approaches, to offer sacrifice to Paul before the steps of a temple. On one side, at the head of the procession, a man cured of lameness has thrown down his crutches and turns gratefully to Paul, who, standing on the opposite side, rends his garment in indignation at the error of the heathen. A youth, who observes the gestures of the apostle, endeavours to stop the sacrificer. In the festal pomp of this representation the cause and the result of the incident are admirably united.

4. The Preaching of Paul at Athens.—Paul stands on the steps of a building and addresses the people, who stand before him in a half-circle. His figure is very dignified: both arms are raised to heaven with an expression of earnest eloquence. (We here recognise the same figure of St. Paul in Masaccio's picture of Peter in Prison.[1]) The effect on the auditors is very varied. The different philosophical sects, of Stoics, Epicureans, and others, are easily distinguished. The Sophists dispute; others stand in doubt, or easy indifference, looking on, or lost in thought; others, full of faith, are penetrated with the truth.

5. Paul in the Prison of Philippi, at the time of the earthquake.—The earthquake is personified by a giant, who has torn an opening in the earth. Behind the grate of the prison the apostle is seen in prayer; in front are the guards. (A very small tapestry: the cartoon does not exist.)

The borders round these works are enriched with ornaments corresponding in style with those in the Loggie. The lateral divisions or pilasters are ornamented with graceful figures in the arabesque taste, generally mythological in their allusions, and in the natural colours. Under the large subjects are small compositions in the style of friezes, painted in bronze colour. Those under the second series are scenes from the history of the apostles, so connected with the subjects of the chief pictures as to carry on and unite the separate events. Those under the first series represent incidents from the early history of Leo, in the style of antique reliefs; and although

[1] [The subject referred to, according to the author himself, is by Filippino Lippi: see p. 194.—Ed.]

the costume of the time is retained in the principal portraits, it is so managed as to harmonize with this classic treatment. Both series give an additional proof of Raphael's all-pervading taste and feeling for beauty, which enabled him to give even to the least important subjects the impress of his own noble mind.[1]

In the same apartments of the Vatican there is another series of tapestries, also designed by Raphael. They are twelve in number,[2] higher in shape, and without the ornamental accessories. They represent scenes from the life of Christ, and were certainly executed after the others. The circumstance of their being called by the keepers of the Vatican "Arazzi della scuola nuova," as distinguished from the first described, called "Arazzi della scuola vecchia," seems to confirm this. It does not appear probable that the cartoons for these last-mentioned tapestries were executed under Raphael's immediate direction, since, in the greater number, the drawing is much less satisfactory than in the other series. We observe also some elements foreign to his school, of a Flemish character, which makes it probable that a part at least were executed by Flemish artists, such as Bernhard van Orley and others. Nevertheless, the general invention, composition, and style of these works announce, for the most part, the unquestionable genius of Raphael,—the same grace and dignity which we recognise in all his productions; though occasional compositions bear a very conventional character, and show decided marks of change of purpose. Accessories and landscape appear throughout to be of Netherlandish invention. It is believed that Francis I., on the occasion of the canonization of S. Francesco di Paolo, in 1519, promised the Pope these tapestries, and commissioned Raphael to make the designs for them. It is not probable, however, that they were executed before 1523.

Among the finest works of the second series may be particularly mentioned, first, the Adoration of the Kings, a large

[1] [See the note at the end of this chapter, on the original situation of the tapestries.—Ed.]

[2] [A thirteenth, with allegorical figures alluding to the papal power, completes the series. See Passavant, Rafael von Urbino, ii. 260.—Ed.]

DESCENT OF THE HOLY GHOST: a tapestry of the later series, in the Vatican. page 369.

THE ASCENSION ; a tapestry of the later series, in the Vatican. page 368

THE RESURRECTION, a tapestry of the later series in the Vatican page 330

APOSTLES designed by Raphael and engraved by Marc Antonio. page 369

APOSTLES, designed by Raphael and engraved by Marc Antonio. page 369.

composition, full of figures. The numerous and splendid retinue of the Kings is assembled with joyous awe and adoration around the principal group. And secondly, the Resurrection of Christ, of similar size and richness of character. The figure of the triumphant Saviour forms the chief centre, while the utmost life and variety of agitation are seen in the ranks of the guards, who flee in terror, or fling themselves on the earth. Thirdly, three narrow tapestries containing the Murder of the Innocents, each in itself an independent and finely-conceived picture of this rich and varied subject—all alike characterized by that pure spirit of beauty which so treated the most painful incidents as to excite the profound sympathy of the spectator, instead of appalling him with scenes of terror, as usual with all previous conceptions of these scenes. (A fourth and larger composition of the Murder of the Innocents, where Raphael has imparted the same moral tenderness, the same exquisite charm to the figures of the despairing and fleeing mothers, was engraved from a drawing of the master by his scholar Marc Antonio.)

After the completion of the tapestries for Leo X., owing to the great applause which these splendid articles of luxury met with, repetitions were executed for many other places, and thus various copies are to be seen in Dresden, Mantua, England, France, and elsewhere.[1]

We conclude with the figures of the twelve Apostles, executed in chiaroscuro after Raphael's designs, in an apartment of the Vatican, since altered. These are probably the compositions engraved by Marc Antonio, and painted by Raphael's scholars on the pilasters of St. Vincenzo alle Tre Fontane (near Rome), where they are now to be seen. They are dignified, well-draped figures, but deficient in real grandeur.

Finally, in the last years of his life (1518–1520), Raphael completed the decorations of the chapel of the little castle of La Magliana—a favourite residence of Leo X., five miles

[1] See Passavant, vol. ii. p. 273, for an account of these frequent, and in part contemporary, repetitions. Nine pieces of the first series, of which only "Paul in the Prison at Philippi" was wanting, were long in England, and have only been recently purchased for the Berlin Museum. They are said to have been in the possession of Henry VIII., and to have come to England at that time from Italy.

from Rome, near Porta Portese. Here, under Julius II., a scholar of Perugino's, probably Lo Spagna, had painted the Annunciation and the Visitation—Raphael now added, either by his own hand, or by that of one of his best scholars, the Martyrdom of St. Felicitas, a composition, the excellence of which is now only fully preserved in Marc Antonio's engraving, the centre and principal scene having been destroyed not long ago by the barbarous introduction of a window. On the left, still preserved, is a group of men surrounding the tyrant, who are eagerly watching the scene, and on the right the figure of an idol with three terrified women with a naked boy, who is clinging fearfully to them. The heads are all of the finest expression. In a Glory of the First Person of the Trinity, probably by one of Raphael's scholars, one of the angels strewing flowers is closely imitated[1] from the celebrated Madonna of Francis I., 1518, which is described further on.

Beside all these important commissions, executed by Raphael for the Papal Court, during twelve years, many claims were made on him by private persons. Among the works of this kind may be mentioned two frescoes executed for Roman churches. One in S. Maria della Pace, over the arch of the first side-chapel, on the right of the entrance; it represents four Sibyls surrounded by angels. It is one of Raphael's most perfect works: great mastery is shown in the mode of filling and taking advantage of the apparently unfavourable space. The angels who hold the tablets to be written on, or read by the sibyls, create a spirited variety in the severe symmetrical arrangement of the whole. Grace in the attitudes and movements, with a peculiar harmony of form and colour, pervade the whole picture; but important restorations have unfortunately become necessary in several parts. An interesting comparison may be instituted between this work and the Sibyls of Michael Angelo. In each we find the peculiar excellence of the two great masters; for while Michael Angelo's figures are grand, sublime, profound, the fresco of

[1] See Passavant, vol. i. p. 290, and vol. ii. p. 340; also an article by Herrn H. Hase, in the 'Blätter für literarische unterhaltung,' Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1841, Nos. 235 and 236. [Engraved by L. Gruner, "I Freschi della Villa Magliana di Raffaelle d' Urbino," &c., Londra, 1847.—Ed.]

the Pace bears the impress of Raphael's serene and ingenuous grace. The four Prophets on the wall over the Sibyls were executed by Timoteo della Vite, after drawings by Raphael.

In a second fresco, representing the prophet Isaiah and two angels, who hold a tablet, painted on a pilaster in the church of S. Agostino at Rome, the comparison is unfavourable to Raphael. An effort to rival the powerful style of Michael Angelo is very visible in this picture; an effort which, notwithstanding the excellence of the execution in parts, has produced only an exaggerated and affected figure.[1]

While drawing these comparisons between Michael Angelo and Raphael, we may mention a small oil picture, supposed to have been executed by Raphael as early as 1510, but which, to judge from its affinity with the earlier pictures of the Loggie, can only have been produced in 1513: it represents the Vision of Ezekiel, and is now in the Pitti Palace at Florence; it contains the First Person of the Trinity, in a glory of brightly illuminated cherubs' heads, his outstretched arms supported by two genii, and resting on the mystical forms of the ox, eagle, and lion; the angel is introduced adoring beside them. Dignity, majesty, and sublimity are here blended with inexpressible beauty: the contrast between the figure of the Almighty and the two youthful genii is admirably portrayed, and the whole composition so clearly developed, that it is undoubtedly one of the master-works of the artist. Michael Angelo, who had also given a type of the Almighty, represents him borne upon the storm; Raphael represents him as if irradiated by the splendour of the sun:—here again both masters are supremely great, similar yet different, and neither greater than the other. A copy of this work, formerly in the

[1] Sebastian del Piombo's account of his remarkable audience of Julius II., published in Gaye's Cartegg., ii. p. 477, proves that Michael Angelo's influence over Raphael was well known at that time, 1512. If Sebastian is to be believed, the Pope expressed himself thus:—"Look at the works of Raphael! As soon as he saw those of Michael Angelo, he instantly (*subito*) quitted the style of Perugino, and adapted himself (*accostava*) as nearly as possible to that of Michael Angelo." Gaye connects this change with Michael Angelo's cartoon at Florence: but the Florentine works of Raphael testify so little of that master's influence, that we should far rather attribute it to the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, of which at least a portion was open to the public in 1509.

Orleans Gallery, and at one time considered the original, is now at Stratton, in England.

A somewhat later work of Raphael also proves that in the very same subjects in which Michael Angelo's whole greatness was displayed, he infused that free and peculiar beauty which places them in the noblest contrast to the gigantic power of his rival. We allude to the decorations of the Chigi chapel at S. Maria del Popolo at Rome. Here it was intended that the cupola should contain the history of the Creation up to the Fall, that four statues of the prophets should represent the Promise, and three large wall pictures the fulfilment of the New Covenant. With the exception of the statue of the prophet Jonah, which Raphael appears to have executed himself, he only lived to see the completion of the mosaics in the cupola after his designs, by Luigi da Pace (Maestro Luisaccio) in 1516.[1] In the centre circle is the Almighty, with uplifted arms, in the act of creation, surrounded by seraphim. Around, in eight compartments, are the mythological half-length figures of seven planets, and a cherub as head of the planetary system. Further below are the signs of the zodiac, and, leaning or sitting upon them, figures of angels of such wonderful and simple beauty as we can only compare to the sibyls in S. Maria della Pace. Unfortunately the whole has been much injured.

Like all other artists, Raphael is always greatest when, undisturbed by foreign influence, he follows the free, original impulse of his own mind. His peculiar element was grace and beauty of form, in as far as these are the expression of high moral purity. Hence, notwithstanding the grand works in which he was employed by the Popes, his peculiar powers are most fully developed in the Madonnas and Holy Families, of which he has left so great a number. In his youth he seems to have been fondest of this class of subjects, and if his earliest works of this kind bear the impress of a dreamy, sentimental fancy, and the later ones of a cheerful conception of life, the works of his third period form the happiest medium

[1] See 'I Musaici della Cupola nella Cappella Chigiana di S. M. del Popolo in Roma, inv. da Rafaele Sanzio, inc. ed ed. da L. Gruner, illustr. da Ant. Grifi,' Roma, 1839.

between cheerfulness and dignity,—between innocent playfulness and a deep penetration of the spirit of his subject. They are conceived with a graceful freedom, so delicately controlled, that it appears always guided by the finest feeling for the laws of art. They place before us those dearest relations of life which form the foundation of morality, the closest ties of family love; yet they seem to breathe a feeling still higher and holier. Mary is not only the affectionate mother; she appears, at the same time, with an expression of almost virgin timidity, and yet as the blessed one of whom the Lord was born. The infant Christ is not only the cheerful, innocent child, but a prophetic seriousness rests on his features, which tells of his future sacred destiny. In the numerous representations of these subjects, varying in the number, attitude, and grouping of the figures, there prevails sometimes a more simply natural, sometimes a more profound conception: they thus offer many interesting points of comparison. They are not all, however, from Raphael's own hand; many, though painted from his designs and in his studio, have only been retouched and completed by himself: many also which bear his name are but the works of his scholars, who endeavoured to seize and appropriate some portion of the master-spirit.

Among these works we may particularly distinguish those of the earlier part of Raphael's residence in Rome. These, as might be expected from his more severe employments, are simple compositions, of not very considerable size. The execution, however, shows that they are done quite *con amore*, and they more or less retain the traces of that deep earnestness which, we have observed, characterized his youthful works. The following are especially deserving of mention.

The Aldobrandini Madonna (27), now in the possession of Lord Garvagh.—The Madonna, sitting on a bench, bends tenderly towards the little St. John, her left arm round him; he reaches up playfully for a flower, gracefully offered to him by the infant Christ, who sits on his mother's lap. Behind the Madonna is the pilaster of an arcade, and on each side a view into the landscape beyond: the whole forms a composition of the greatest beauty and sweetness. The picture is in

good preservation. An old repetition of the same subject is at Signor Camuccini's in Rome.[1]

The Madonna of the Duke of Alba (26), formerly in the possession of Mr. Coesvelt, in London, now in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.—The Madonna, a full-length figure, is seated in a quiet landscape-scene; the Child on her lap; she holds a book in her hand, which she has been just reading; the little St. John kneels before his divine companion with infantine grace and offers him a cross, which he receives with looks of unutterable love: the Madonna's eyes are directed to the prophetic play of the children with a deep, earnest expression. It is a beautiful picture, executed in the best and most delicate style by the master's own hand, and very well preserved.

La Vierge au Diadême (28), also called La Vierge au Linge, in the Louvre.—The Madonna is seated in a kneeling position, lifting the veil from the sleeping Child, in order to show it to the little St. John, who is kneeling in joyful adoration. In the background a rich landscape. The execution decidedly does not belong entirely to Raphael. The picture also, like so many in the Louvre, has been much injured. Similar compositions, with a more or less free imitation of this moment, are frequent.[2]

The Madonna and Child (31), in the possession of Mr. Rogers in London (from the Orleans gallery).—The Madonna, a half-length figure, youthful and noble, is seen behind a balustrade or low wall, on which stands the Child, who, smiling, nestles close to her, holding her round the neck. The picture has now lost its surface, and is interesting in a technical point of view, on account of the bright reddish undertint which is apparent.

The Madonna (half-figure) and Child (30), in the possession of Lord Ellesmere, and forming part of the Bridgewater gallery at London (from the Orleans gallery, and not in a good state).—The Child is stretched on her lap; she

[1] [The picture here alluded to contains but two figures, and is quite different in composition: see p. 341.—Ed.]

[2] Representations of this kind, with the Child sleeping, are generally called 'Silentium,' 'Vierge au Silence,' &c. (18).

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21. La Belle Jardiniere, Louvre, L. 106, P. 86, p. 340.
. Del Baldacchino, Florence, L. 110, P. 89, p. 342.
. With the Lamb, Escurial, P. 91, p. 342.
. Wendelstadt, P. 92.
15. Loreto, L. 148, P. 126, p. 375.
6. Casa d'Alba, St. Petersburg, P. 128, p. 374.

18. Diademe, Louvre, L. 108, P. 132, p. 374.
29. Madonna di Fuligno, Rome, L. 443, P. 134, p. 379
33. Bridgewater, London, L. 145, P. 144, p. 374.
34. Rogers, London, L. 325, P. 146, p. 374.
3. Divin' Amore, Naples, L. 294, P. 147, p. 3
. Del Pesce, Escurial, L. 295, P. 150, p.
31. Della Sedia, Florence, L. 109, P. 294, p
. Loggia Tedesca, Munich, P. 297, p. 3

[illegible] the Oak, Madrid, P. 304, p. 377.
47. The Pearl, Madrid, L. 143, P. 306, p. 377.
[illegible] Francis I., Louvre, L. 105; P. 312, p. 378.
[illegible] all Holy Family, Louvre, L. 107, P. 375, p. 377.
[illegible] Sisto, Dresden, P. 388, p. 381.
[illegible] Florence, L. 436, P. 394, p. 376.
[illegible] P. 395, p. 378.
43. Madonna del Passeggio, London, L. 104, P. 397, p. 376.
44. Candelabra, London, P. 399, p. 376.
45. Madonna among Ruins, L. 425, P. 401.
46. "Ecce Agnus Dei," London, P. 403, p. 378, see L. 147.
47. Della Gatta, Naples, P 308, p. 377.
48. ? Raphael, in the Tribune at Florence, P. 407.

looks at him with maternal joy. The infant, in graceful and lively action, turns his little head upwards, and looks at her as if in deep thought, yet tenderly (painted 1512). Several old repetitions are in the Museums of Berlin, Naples, &c.

Madonna di Loreto (25).—The original is lost, but the subject is known from numerous old copies; for instance, in the Louvre, in the Studj gallery at Naples, in the collection of the Prince of Salerno also at Naples, in Mr. Miles's collection at Leigh Court, in Mr. Wigram's, &c. The Virgin is lifting the veil from the just awakening Child. Joseph stands at her side, devoutly looking on. Half-length figures the size of life; generally a green curtain in the background.[1]

The Madonna della Sedia (34), in the Pitti Palace at Florence (painted about 1516), a circular picture.—The Madonna, seen in a side view, sits on a low chair holding the Child on her knee; he leans on her bosom in a listless, childlike attitude: at her side John folds his little hands in prayer. The Madonna wears a many-coloured handkerchief on her shoulders, and another on her head, in the manner of the Italian women. She appears as a beautiful and blooming woman, looking out of the picture in the tranquil enjoyment of maternal love; the Child, full and strong in form, has a serious, ingenuous, and grand expression. The colouring is uncommonly warm and beautiful.

The Madonna della Tenda (35), in the possession of the King of Bavaria. (There is a repetition of the picture in the Royal gallery of Turin, also said to be an original.)—A composition similar to the last, except that the Child is represented in more lively action, and looking upwards. In the background is a curtain: hence the name of the Italian picture.

A series of similar, but in some instances more copious compositions, belong to a later period; they are in a great measure the work of his scholars, painted after his drawings, and only partially touched upon by Raphael himself. Indeed many pictures of this class should, perhaps, be considered altogether as the productions of his school, at a time

[1] Passavant, vol. ii. p. 126, assigns this composition to Raphael's earlier Roman time—on which account we place it here, though it appears to us to belong to his latest and freest time.

when that school was under his direct superintendence, and when it was enabled to imitate his finer characteristics in a remarkable degree.

In this class we must include the Vierge aux Candélabres (44), where the Madonna is seated, with an angel bearing a torch on each side. This circular picture was sold in England by the Duke of Lucca, with other treasures of art, in 1840.[1]

The Madonna dell' Impannata (41), in the Pitti Palace at Florence, shows only the technical stamp of his school. The two holy women who pay homage to the Child are very beautiful; the little St. John, on the contrary, who sits in the foreground, and points to Christ, wants the easy *naïveté* of Raphael. The Child is, however, softly and delicately painted; and here, it is probable, the master himself assisted. This picture, which is arranged more as an altar-piece than Raphael's other Holy Families, takes its name from the oiled-paper window in the background.

The Madonna del Passeggio (43), in the Bridgewater gallery, formerly in the Orleans gallery, and yet earlier in that of Christina of Sweden, appears to have been painted by Francesco Penni. It represents the Madonna and Child walking in a landscape, and the little St. John about to kiss his playfellow. The children are peculiarly graceful, almost in Raphael's Florentine manner; but the drapery of the Madonna is heavy, and resembles the works of later artists. There are several repetitions in the Museum of Naples and elsewhere.

In all these Holy Families of Raphael's later period, whatever part he may or may not have taken in their execution, there appears a pervading character of grand ideal beauty, which, as before remarked, is common to the other works of art of this age. We no longer perceive the tender enthusiasm, the earnestness and fervour of youth; but, in their stead, a cheerful, tranquil enjoyment of life, ennobled by the purest feeling. They are not, however, glorified, holy forms, which impel us to adore; they rather show us the most interesting moments of domestic life, the accidental re-unions in a family, when the sports of graceful children attract the delighted

[1] [Now in the possession of Mr. Munro.—Ed.]

observation of parents. The greater number of these pictures consist of four figures—the Madonna, the two Children, and either Elizabeth or Joseph. Among those pictures in which Elizabeth shares the mother's joy are the following:—

The Holy Family, known by the name of "the Pearl" (37), in the gallery at Madrid: the most important, and, in composition, unquestionably the finest of Raphael's Holy Families. The figures, arranged in perfect harmony, form a beautiful group:—the infant Christ sits on the Madonna's knee, resting one foot on a cradle, in the foreground; John brings fruits in his panther's skin. Philip IV. of Spain, who had purchased the picture from the gallery of Charles I., is said to have exclaimed on seeing it, "This is my pearl!"—hence its name. Giulio Romano probably assisted much in the execution.

A small Holy Family in the Louvre (39). The infant Christ stands on a cradle caressing St. John. The execution is attributed sometimes to Giulio Romano, sometimes to Garofalo.

The so-called "Madonna col divino amore" (32), in the Museum of Naples.[1] The Child, seated on the Virgin's lap, is blessing the Baptist, while Elizabeth supports his little arm. The execution is attributed by some to Giulio Romano, but it betrays more of Raphael's own hand than most of his later works.

The Madonna della Gatta (47), in the Museum at Naples, may also be mentioned here. It was executed by Giulio Romano after Raphael's "Pearl." It is a beautiful domestic scene, and excellently composed; but the scholar's different mind shows itself in the prominence of the accessories, in the more violent action of the Child, in the incomparably less depth and purity of expression, and in the heavy, dark shadows.

Among the pictures in which Joseph completes the group are several in the Museum at Madrid, particularly La Madonna della Lucertola (36), so called because a lizard[2] is introduced

[1] According to Passavant, vol. i. p. 187, painted as early as 1512, which we are much inclined to doubt.

[2] [No lizard appears in the original picture at Madrid, though one is introduced in the copy in the Pitti Palace: hence the "Holy Family under the Oak" is the better appellation.—Ed.]

in the picture, which is better known as "the Holy Family under the Oak," painted about 1517. Joseph leans on an antique architectural ruin; the young Christ turns to John, who holds up to him a strip of parchment with the words "Ecce Agnus Dei!" The execution is attributed to Giulio Romano. A repetition, marked as a copy by Giulio Romano, is in the Pitti Palace at Florence. It is hard and cold. A composition, in which the children hold a similar piece of parchment with upraised hands, appears to have been frequently repeated by Raphael's scholars. One of them is at Stratton, the seat of Sir Thomas Baring; another is in the possession of Mr. Munro, in London (46), formerly in that of M. Nieuwenhuys; a third in the sacristy of the Escurial.

A Repose in Egypt (42) is in the Imperial gallery at Vienna. The Madonna, kneeling, holds the Child in her arms; St. John also kneels, and presents fruits; Joseph, leading an ass by the bridle, is in the act of raising St. John. The picture is freely and boldly painted. The Child is extremely beautiful, as is also the head of the Baptist.

Lastly, the large picture of a Holy Family (38), in the Louvre, painted by Raphael in 1518 for Francis I., is peculiarly excellent. The Madonna kneels to take up the Child, who springs joyfully out of the cradle; Elizabeth kneels also and folds the hands of the little St. John; Joseph, in the background, is in calm contemplation. At the side are two angels; one strews flowers over the Child, the other crosses his hands on his breast. The whole has a character of cheerfulness and joy: an easy and delicate play of graceful lines and the noblest forms, which unite in an intelligible and harmonious whole. Giulio Romano assisted in the execution.

To this cycle of Holy Families may be added the Visitation (of Mary to Elizabeth), now in Spain. The heads are very beautiful—Mary's full of the most graceful innocence and humility. On the other hand, the drawing of the draperies and figures appears to be less excellent. Chiefly executed by Giulio Romano.

A similar character pervades the larger compositions of this later period, which represent the Madonna as queen of

heaven, though their destination as altar-pieces naturally causes the religious character to predominate. With regard to these compositions, in which several Saints are assembled round the Madonna, it is to be observed, that, although these holy personages were brought together arbitrarily (for various accidental reasons), yet Raphael has contrived to place them in reciprocal relation to each other, and to establish a connexion between them; while the earlier masters either ranged them next to one another, in simple symmetrical repose, or with equal caprice disposed them in all kinds of attitudes, with a view to picturesque effect. Raphael has left three large altar-pictures of this kind, which are interesting examples of his various conceptions of the Madonna.

Of these the Madonna di Fuligno (29) (also called La Vierge au Donataire), in the Vatican, is the earliest, and of about the same date as the Stanza della Segnatura, namely, about 1511. It was originally ordered for the church of Ara Cœli in Rome, by one of the court of Julius II., Gismondo Conti, but was afterwards transferred to Fuligno: hence its name. In the upper part of the picture is the Madonna with the Child, enthroned on the clouds in a glory, surrounded by angels. Underneath, on one side, kneels the donor, raising his folded hands to the Virgin; behind him stands St. Jerome, who recommends him to her care. On the other side is St. Francis, also kneeling and looking upward, while he points with one hand out of the picture to the people, for whom he entreats the protection of the Mother of Grace; behind him is John the Baptist, who points to the Madonna, while he looks at the spectator as if inviting the latter to pay her homage. The relation between the picture and the community of believers, expressed by the last two figures, appears from this time variously modified in the altar-pieces of the Catholic church. Between the two groups stands an angel holding a tablet, intended for an inscription. In the distance is a city, on which falls a meteor; above it is a rainbow, no doubt in allusion to some danger and miraculous preservation, in remembrance of which the picture was dedicated.[1]

[1] [Providential escapes, victories, and successes were among the most frequent occasions of what are called votive pictures. In these compositions

This work, however beautiful in the whole arrangement, however excellent in the execution of separate parts, appears to belong only to a transition-state of development. There is something of the ecstatic enthusiasm which has produced such peculiar conceptions and treatment of religious subjects in other artists—Correggio, for example—and which, so far from harmonizing with the unaffected, serene grace of Raphael, has in this instance led to some serious defects. This remark is particularly applicable to the figures of St. John and St. Francis: the former looks out of the picture with a fantastic action, and the drawing of his arm is even considerably mannered. St. Francis has an expression of fanatical ecstasy, and his countenance is strikingly weak in the painting (composed of reddish, yellowish, and grey tones, which cannot be wholly ascribed to the restorer). Again, St. Jerome looks up with a sort of fretful expression, in which it is difficult to recognise, as some do, a mournful resignation; there is also an exaggerated style of drawing in the eyes, which sometimes gives a sharpness to the expression of Raphael's figures, and appears very marked in some of his other pictures. Lastly, the Madonna and the Child, who turn to the donor, are in attitudes which, however graceful, are not perhaps sufficiently tranquil for the majesty of the queen of heaven.[1] The expression of the Madonna's countenance is extremely sweet, but with more of the character of a mere woman than of a glorified being. The figure of the donor, on the other hand, is excellent, with an expression of sincerity and truth; the angel with the tablet is of unspeakable intensity and exquisite beauty—one of the most marvellous figures that Raphael has created.

The second of these pictures, the Madonna del Pesce (33),

the Madonna and Child are generally represented surrounded by Saints, the latter being selected for various reasons, according to the taste or devotion of the proprietor of the picture. The donor is frequently introduced kneeling, sometimes alone, sometimes with his family, and in many cases a patron saint recommends the votaries. The ultimate intercession of the Madonna is, however, distinctly intimated by her appearing in the character of the "Mater Dei." When she is represented alone, her action is more directly that of a suppliant.—Ed.]

[1] [This is one of the instances in which the severity of the author's criticism is unsupported by high authorities.—Ed.]

has much more repose and grandeur as a whole, and unites the sublime and abstract character of sacred beings with the individuality of nature in the happiest manner. It is now in the Escurial, but was originally painted for S. Domenico, at Naples,[1] about 1513. It represents the Madonna and Child on a throne; on one side is St. Jerome; on the other the guardian angel with the young Tobias, who carries a fish (whence the name of the picture). The artist has imparted a wonderfully poetic character to the subject. St. Jerome, kneeling on the steps of the throne, has been reading from a book to the Virgin and Child, and appears to have been interrupted by the entrance of Tobias and the Angel. The infant Christ turns towards them, but at the same time lays his hand on the open book, as if to mark the place. The Virgin turns towards the Angel, who introduces Tobias; while the latter, dropping on his knees, looks up meekly to the Divine infant. St. Jerome looks over the book to the new comers, as if ready to proceed with his occupation after the interruption. All the figures are graceful and dignified. The majesty and sweetness of the Virgin, the interesting sympathy of the Child, the thoughtful gravity of St. Jerome, the easy, bending figure of the Angel, the inexpressible *naïveté* of Tobias, all combine in beautiful harmony, and leave a refined impression on the feelings of the spectator.

The most important of this class is the Madonna di San Sisto (40), in the Dresden Gallery. Here the Madonna appears as the queen of the heavenly host, in a brilliant glory of countless angel-heads, standing on the clouds, with the eternal Son in her arms; St. Sixtus and St. Barbara kneel at the sides. Both of them seem to connect the picture with the real spectators. A curtain, drawn back, encloses the picture on each side: underneath is a light parapet, on which two beautiful boy-angels lean. The Madonna is one of the most wonderful creations of Raphael's pencil: she is at once the exalted and blessed woman of whom the Saviour was born, and the tender earthly Virgin whose pure and humble nature

[1] For that chapel where prayers for the recovery from all diseases of the eye were especially offered up. This accounts for the introduction of Tobit with the fish, which has puzzled so many.

was esteemed worthy of so great a destiny. There is something scarcely describable in her countenance; it expresses a timid astonishment at the miracle of her own elevation, and, at the same time, the freedom and dignity resulting from the consciousness of her divine situation. The Child rests naturally, but not listlessly, in her arms, and looks down upon the world with a serious expression. Never has the loveliness of childhood been blended so touchingly with a deep-felt solemn consciousness of the holiest calling, as in the features and countenance of this Child. The eye is with difficulty disenchanted from the deep impressions produced by these two figures, so as to rest upon the grandeur and dignity of the Pope, the lowly devotion of St. Barbara, and the cheerful innocence of the two angel-children. This is a rare example of a picture of Raphael's later time executed entirely by his own hand. No design, no study of the subject for the guidance of a scholar, no old engraving, after such a study, has ever come to light. The execution itself evidently shows that the picture was painted without any such preparation. Proofs are not wanting even of alterations in the original design—the two angels in the lower part are very evidently a later addition by the master's hand. According to Vasari, Raphael painted this picture for the principal altar of St. Sixtus, at Piacenza—at least it was there in his time, and was only removed to Dresden in the last century. It has been supposed, with great probability, that it had been intended for a procession-picture.[1] Though this supposition has not been actually substantiated, yet both the composition and condition of the picture argue for it, and we can conceive the elevating impression that this glorified appearance must have produced as it was borne slowly along over the heads of adoring multitudes, accompanied by the lights, the incense, and the sacred songs of the different orders.

To this class belongs also the St. Cecilia, executed in the earlier years[2] of Raphael's residence in Rome, and now in the

[1] For the grounds of this supposition, see Von Rumohr, Italienische Forschungen, iii. 129, etc.; and Drei Reisen nach Italien, p. 74, etc.

[2] [It appears to have been completed in 1516. The inscription in the chapel is comparatively modern, and hence no authority. See Passavant, ii. 181, *note*.—Ed.]

Gallery of Bologna. It was originally in San Giovanni a Monte, and adorned the altar of the Bentivoglj, for whom it was painted. St. Cecilia is placed in the centre, surrounded by four Saints: St. John and St. Augustine behind her: St. Paul and Mary Magdalen in front, at the sides of the picture. Above, in the clouds, is a glory of angels singing hymns. At the feet of Mary Magdalen lie some musical instruments partly broken; St. Cecilia raises her eyes to the Angels, and appears to listen to their songs. She holds a small organ reversed, with its tubes beginning to fall out, indicating, like the other scattered and broken instruments, the relation of earthly to heavenly music. St. John, an extremely beautiful head, regards the inspired countenance of the Saint with holy rapture: St. Augustine is more tranquil. St. Paul, a noble figure in very grand drapery, looks thoughtfully down on the instruments, whose sounds have ceased. Mary Magdalen, whose mild expression reminds us of Raphael's youthful pictures, turns to the spectator, directing his attention to the holy scene. There appears in the expression throughout this simply arranged group a progressive sympathy, of which the revelation made to St. Cecilia forms the central point. Still that noble and beautiful countenance does not express all the sublimity and holiness which might be expected from the subject; and it can scarcely be supposed that this defect is entirely owing to the restorations, although they are said to be considerable.

Two more altar-pictures close this series: they represent single figures of Saints; two pictures with St. Margaret as the Conqueror of the Dragon.[1] One is in the Gallery of Vienna. It represents the Saint at the moment when the fearful monster winds himself round her; she raises the crucifix against him. The picture has something in attitude and gesture which shows Michael Angelo's influence, and is probably by the hand of Giulio Romano. The second is in Paris, and is said to have been originally painted for Francis I. It is of Raphael's later time, and the greater part is by Giulio

[1] [The legend (from Simeon Metaphrastes) will be found in Lippomanus De Vitis Sanctorum, ii. 165: see also Mrs. Jameson's Poetry of Sacred and Legendary Art, vol. ii. p. 130.—Ed.]

Romano. Here, Margaret stands on the wing of the dragon, and holds in her right hand the palm of victory. Her countenance expresses maidenly innocence and grace. Alas! this picture has been almost wholly destroyed by transferring it from wood to canvas.

The Archangel Michael, in the gallery of the Louvre, is a very remarkable picture, also painted by Raphael for Francis I. in 1517. Like a flash of lightning the heavenly champion darts upon Satan, who, in desperation, writhes at his feet. The angel is clad in scaly armour, and bears a lance in his hands, with which he aims a deathblow at his antagonist. The air of grandeur, beauty, and calm majesty in the winged youth, the rapidity of the movement, the bold foreshortening of Satan, hurled on the lava rocks, have a most impressive effect.

In various galleries we find representations of John the Baptist in the wilderness, as a youth, seated fronting to the spectator, and pointing with enthusiasm to a cross which is erected beside him. The greater number, if not all, must have been executed by scholars from drawings after the model, by the master (such as the one in the Uffizj at Florence, which is of remarkable beauty). An excellent one in the Gallery at Darmstadt is painted somewhat in the style of Bronzino; others are at Florence, Bologna, Paris, in England, etc. A good and somewhat later copy, ascribed to Francesco Salviati, is in the Berlin Museum.[1]

Two large historical altar-pictures still claim our attention; they belong also to Raphael's later period. The earliest is the picture of Christ bearing the Cross, in the Museum of Madrid, known by the name of "Lo Spasimo di Sicilia," from the convent of Santa Maria dello Spasimo at Palermo, for which it was painted. Here, as in the tapestries, we again find a finely conceived development of the event, and an excellent composition. The procession which conducts the Saviour to Mount Calvary has just reached a turn in the road. He sinks under the weight of the cross; an executioner, who stands at the edge of the picture (a figure of athletic form

[1] Compare V. Rumohr, Ital. Forsch. iii. 135.

ST. MICHAEL; by Raphael in the Louvre

LO SPASIMO; by Raphael, now at Madrid

page 382.

somewhat ostentatiously displayed), endeavours to pull him up by the rope which is passed round his body. Simon of Cyrene, who met the procession, a powerful figure, turns angrily towards the executioner, and stoops to free Christ from his burden, while another, standing behind him, again presses it down on the holy martyr. The latter, regardless of his own grief, turns his face consolingly to the group of women who press near to him on the opposite side. The Madonna, her hands extended in despair towards her son, sinks on her knees, supported by John and Mary Magdalen. Behind them follows a procession of soldiers, from the gates of the city; a standard-bearer, who rides before the executioners, already turns in the direction of the mountain seen in the background. Amidst this combination of varied forms, the figure of Christ is kept distinct with consummate art, so that, though placed in a position so unfavourable, it displays a peculiar nobleness. The head, with an expression of the holiest patience and divine sorrow, forms the central point of the picture: the heads of the executioners, of Simon, and of the women, surround it as in a half-circle.[1] Among the friends of the Saviour the various degrees of sympathy are admirably expressed; yet (if it is allowable to judge from the engraving) we observe in some of the single heads, particularly the Magdalen's, something of the exaggerated sharpness of outline already noticed in the Madonna di Fuligno.

The later of these two pictures is the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, now in the Vatican, formerly in S. Pietro at Montorio. This was the last work of the master (not finished till after his death); the one which was suspended over his corpse, a trophy of his fame, for public homage.

If the picture last described is distinguished, like the compositions for the Tapestries, by the dramatic development of an historical event, by the important prominence given to the principal incident, and by grandeur of style, the work now under consideration unites with these qualities a profounder symbolical treatment, which, in the representation of a par-

[1] [The composition of this picture is evidently imitated from Albert Dürer. Marc Antonio had copied the German artist's designs for the 'Passion.' —Ed.]

ticular event, expresses a general idea. In this instance it is the depth and power of thought which move the spectator and which address themselves to him at once, so that he needs no key to explain the meaning of the subject. This picture is divided into two parts, the undermost of which, on account of its mass, is the more important and predominant. On one side are nine of the Disciples; on the other a crowd of people pressing towards them, bearing along a boy possessed with a devil. His limbs are fearfully convulsed by demoniac power; he is supported by his father, who appears strenuously to implore assistance by words and looks: two women beside him point to the sufferer—the one with earnest entreaties; the other in the front, on her knees,[1] with an expression of passionate energy. All are crying aloud, beseeching, and stretching out their arms for aid. Among the disciples, who are disposed in different groups, astonishment, horror, and sympathy alternate in various degrees. One, whose youthful countenance expresses the deepest sympathy, turns to the unhappy father, plainly intimating his inability to assist him; another points upwards; a third repeats this gesture. The upper part of the picture is formed by an elevation to represent Mount Tabor. There lie prostrate the three disciples who went up with Christ, dazzled by the Divine light; above them, surrounded by a miraculous glory, the Saviour floats in air, in serene beatitude, accompanied by Moses and Elias. The twofold action contained in this picture, to which shallow critics have taken exception, is explained historically and satisfactorily merely by the fact that the incident of the possessed boy occurred in the absence of Christ; but it explains itself in a still higher sense, when we consider the deeper, universal meaning of the picture. For this purpose it is not even necessary to consult the books of the New Testament for the explanation of the particular incidents; the lower portion represents the calamities and miseries of human life—the rule of demoniac power, the weakness even of the faithful when unassisted—and points to a superior Power. Above, in the brightness of Divine bliss, undisturbed by the suffering of the lower world, we behold the source of consolation and redemp-

[1] [Both the women are kneeling.—Ed.]

tion from evil. Even the judicious liberties dictated by the nature of the art, which displease the confined views of many critics—such as the want of elevation in the mountain, the perspective alteration of the horizon and points of sight for the upper group (in which the figures do not appear foreshortened, as seen from beneath, but perfectly developed, as if in a vision), give occasion for new and peculiar beauties. In one respect, however, the picture appears to fail: it wants the freer, purer beauty, the simplicity and flow of line (in the drapery especially), which address themselves so directly to the feeling of the spectator; the work pleases the eye, the understanding, but does not entirely satisfy the soul: in this respect the picture already marks the transition to the later periods of Art. But this passing censure should be considered as only hinted at. Where such grandeur and depth of thought, such unexampled excellence, have been accomplished (and we have given but a very general outline), it becomes us to offer any approach to criticism with all humility.

We may not pass over a picture which Raphael had undertaken in his youth (1505), but which was not painted till after his death by his heirs, Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni: it is the Coronation of the Virgin, painted for the convent of S. Maria di Monte Luce at Perugia, and now in the Vatican. If any drawing of Raphael's was made use of, it could only have been for the upper portion of the picture, representing Christ and the Virgin enthroned on the clouds: this part, which is powerfully painted, representing two charming figures of angels strewing flowers, and the figure of the Madonna, is attributed to Giulio Romano. The lower part, executed by Francesco Penni, in which the Apostles are assembled around the empty tomb of the Virgin, is as weak and ineffective in composition as in execution.

Of the picture of St. Luke painting the Madonna (50), the head of the Saint only is attributable to Raphael. The Madonna and other parts are unequally executed.

We now proceed to the Portraits, of which Raphael executed a great number in his best time. Their chief excellence—and the same may be said of those done in his earlier days—resides in their unaffected conception and characteristic expression;

but later portraits display also the purest, most admirable execution, the more so as in the essential parts no assistance could be given by his scholars. The most interesting are—

The portrait of Bindo Altoviti (erroneously held to be Raphael's own portrait),[1] now in the Gallery at Munich, formerly in the Casa Altoviti at Rome. The head is that of a youth of about 22 years of age, with a black cap and long, fair hair, looking over his shoulder at the spectator; his hand on his breast. It is a glowing Italian countenance, full of sensibility; a slight melancholy pervades it, blended with a certain acuteness of expression. The execution is soft, with dark shadows.

The Fornarina (i. e. the Baker), a name which, as applied to Raphael's mistress, does not occur before the middle of the last century. The history of this person, to whom Raphael was attached even to his death, is obscure, nor are we very clear with regard to her likenesses. In the Tribune at Florence there is a portrait, inscribed with the date 1512, of a very beautiful woman, holding the fur trimming of her mantle with her right hand, which is said to represent her.[2] The forms are noble and pure; the painting extremely fine, resembling the Venetian manner; the hand and arm beautiful. The ornaments heightened with gold, and the gold lights in the hair, are peculiar. This picture is decidedly by Raphael, but can hardly represent the Fornarina; at least it bears no resemblance to the second picture of the Fornarina in the Barberini Palace in Rome, which bears the name of Raphael on the armlet, and of the authenticity of which (particularly with respect to the subject) there can hardly be a doubt. In this the figure is seated, and is uncovered to the waist; she draws a light drapery around her: a shawl is twisted round the head. The execution is beautiful and delicate, although the lines are sufficiently defined; the forms are fine and not without beauty, but at the same time not free from an expression

[1] Rumohr considers it a portrait of Raphael. See Ital. Forsch., vol. iii. p. 109, and further. This is, however, sufficiently disproved by Passavant, vol. i. p. 185, and vol. ii. p. 143.

[2] According to an hypothesis of Missirini (Longhena, p. 390), the picture was painted by Sebast. del Piombo, after Michael Angelo, and represents Vittoria Colonna, Marchesa di Pescara, the friend of Michael Angelo.

of coarseness and common life. The eyes are large, dark, and full of fire, and seem to speak of brighter days. There are some repetitions of this picture, from the school of Raphael, in Roman galleries. A draped female portrait of Raphael's later time, in the Pitti Palace, which appears to represent the same individual, though at a younger period, is of higher beauty and most enchanting grace, and of true Roman character also. This figure may possibly have served as Raphael's model for the Sistine Madonna. The head alone, however, and the light damask sleeve, appear to be by the master's hand. Other portraits which bear the name of the Fornarina may be passed over.[1]

Pope Julius II., in the Pitti Palace at Florence.—The high-minded old man is here represented seated in an arm-chair, in deep meditation. The small, piercing eyes are deeply set under the open, projecting forehead; they are quiet, but full of unextinguished power. The nose is proud and Roman, the lips firmly compressed; all the features are still in lively, elastic tension; the execution of the whole picture is masterly. There are several repetitions; one is in the Gallery of the Uffizj, representing the Pope in a red dress.[2] A good copy is also in the Berlin Museum; another at Mr. Miles's, of Leigh Court.

Pope Leo X., with Cardinals de' Medici and de' Rossi, in the Pitti Palace, Florence.—The Pope sits at a table, the breviary open before him; the Cardinals are behind, on each side. The principal merits of this work are, the wonderfully characteristic expression of the three different heads, the truth of imitation in the accessories, and the mastery displayed in the management of the general tone. There is an excellent copy by Andrea del Sarto in the Museum of Naples.

The Violin Player, in the Sciarra Palace, Rome.—A youth holding the bow of a violin and a laurel-wreath in his hand, and looking at the spectator over his shoulder. The expression of the countenance is sensible and decided, and betokens a character alive to the impressions of sense, yet severe. The execution is excellent—inscribed with the date 1518.

[1] [Passavant (Kunstreise, i. 225) prefers the portrait in the Palazzo Pitti.—Ed.]

[2] [Another repetition is in the National Gallery.—Ed.]

Joanna of Arragon.—Numerous repetitions of this portrait exist: that in the collection of Baron Speck, of Sternburg, Leipzig (formerly in the gallery of Count Fries, at Vienna), is much esteemed; another is in Warwick Castle; a third in the gallery of the Louvre. This last, with the exception of the head, is attributed to Giulio Romano. A copy, by a scholar of Leonardo da Vinci (falsely ascribed to the master), is in the Doria gallery, Rome. Several repetitions are in other places. These pictures represent a lady in the bloom of beauty; she sits fronting the spectator in a splendid red costume; the outline of the face and features is inexpressibly pure and soft; the hair, fair and rich, falls on the shoulders; the large, dark eyes, of velvet softness, are turned to the spectator. Joanna was the daughter of Ferdinand of Arragon, Duke of Montalto, and wife of Ascanio Colonna, Prince of Tagliacozzo. She was surnamed "divine," from her beauty. Three hundred poets employed their pens to hand down her fame to posterity.[1]

The following also belong to Raphael's most intellectual portraits:—Cardinal Giulio de' Medici—the same head and attitude as that in the above-mentioned portrait of Leo X., and without doubt the study for it. Count Castiglione—noble, chivalrous, dignified, full of fire and life. A youth, resting his head on his hand with a pleasing carelessness.[2] All three in the gallery of the Louvre. Cardinal Bibiena writing, looking upwards with a serious, thoughtful expression. Fedra Inghirami, Secretary to the Conclave: both in the Pitti Palace. This last is very remarkable for the skill and manner in which Raphael has converted a fat, squinting man, into a subject of great character and attraction. Francesco Penni, Raphael's scholar, in the collection of the Prince of Orange, Brussels.[3] But many of the portraits which bear Raphael's

[1] See the essay of W. Gerhard in the Tüb. Kunstblatt, 'Johanna von Arragonien,' 1833, Nos. 15 and 16. To judge from the not very attractive treatment of the head in the Louvre specimen, and from the somewhat harsh individuality imparted to it, Raphael would seem not to have belonged to the ardent adorers of this celebrated beauty.

[2] Passavant, vol. ii. p. 88, assigns this picture to Raphael's Florentine epoch, which, however, we cannot reconcile with the finished freedom of the execution.

[3] [This gallery was removed to the Hague after the accession of the late King of Holland.—Ed.]

name are entitled to this distinction only in a very subordinate degree; many even belong to an essentially different school. Among this class may be mentioned the portrait of the poet Tibaldeo, in the possession of Professor Scarpa, at La Motta (between Treviso and Udine); Fed. Carondelet, Archdeacon of Bitunto, in the possession of the Duke of Grafton in London; that known in the Paris Museum by the name of "Raphael and his Fencing Master," by some attributed to Pontormo; the Two Lawyers, Bartolo and Baldo, in the Doria gallery at Rome, excellent heads, but more in the Venetian style, are decidedly in some parts the work of Raphael. A very interesting portrait, said to be that of Cæsar Borgia, in the Borghese gallery at Rome, is ascribed to Raphael. It is, however, neither the portrait of that Prince nor the work of Raphael.

With the exception of the portraits just enumerated, the works of Raphael hitherto described are for the most part representations from sacred history. Some subjects still remain to be mentioned, taken from the classic fictions of antiquity. Raphael did not employ these materials, as is now the practice, in an unprofitable, learned manner: he did not desire to reproduce the modes of thinking and feeling peculiar to the ancients, and which must be foreign to our modern conceptions; he regarded them merely as a bright play of fancy, which afforded an opportunity for the introduction of graceful forms as a pleasing embellishment for apartments devoted to festal purposes. In these productions, therefore, we again perceive the artist's peculiar feeling for beauty, which could here freely expatiate.

This style had been already aimed at in the subordinate decorations of the Vatican Loggie. It appears in a much more important form in some larger works, especially in the frescoes in the Roman villa of Agostino Chigi (a rich friend of the arts, for whom Raphael also executed the Sibyls in the Church of Santa Maria della Pace). This villa is in Trastevere, and now bears the name of the Farnesina, from its later possessors of the house of Farnese. On the ceiling of a large hall facing the garden, Raphael represented scenes from the story of Psyche; on the flat part of the ceiling are two large

compositions, with numerous figures,—the Judgment of the Gods, who decide the dispute between Venus and Cupid, and the Marriage of Cupid and Psyche in the festal assembly of the gods. In the lunettes of the ceiling are *amorini*, with the attributes of those gods who have done homage to the power of Love. In the triangular compartments between the lunettes are different groups, illustrative of the incidents in the fable. They are of great beauty, and are examples of the most tasteful disposition in a given space. The picture of the three Graces, that in which Cupid stands in an imploring attitude before Jupiter, a third, where Psyche is borne away by Loves, are extremely graceful.[1] Peevish critics have designated these representations as common and sensual, but the noble spirit visible in all Raphael's works prevails also in these: religious feeling could naturally find no place in them; but they are conceived in a spirit of the purest artlessness, always a proof of true moral feeling, and to which a narrow taste alone could object. In the execution, indeed, we recognise little of Raphael's fine feeling; the greatest part is by his scholars, after his cartoons, particularly by G. Romano. The nearest of the three Graces, in the group before alluded to, appears to be by Raphael's own hand.[2]

In the same villa, in an adjoining saloon, is a fresco known by the name of the 'Galatea;' painted 1514. The greater part of this is Raphael's own work, and the execution is consequently much superior to that of the others. It represents the goddess of the sea borne over the waves in her shell; tritons and nymphs sport joyously around her; *amorini*, discharging their arrows, appear in the air like an angel-glory. The utmost sweetness, the most ardent sense of pleasure breathe from this work; everything lives, feels, vibrates with enjoyment. And here again the spectator recognises that

[1] Two charming drawings, nearly six feet long, still exist of the two large ceiling representations, called the Feast of the Gods, and the Marriage of Cupid and Psyche. They are slightly coloured, and only partially finished; nevertheless they so far surpass the frescoes in beauty, that we are inclined to take them for Raphael's own designs. They were for sale in the year 1846.

[2] [The heaviness of the forms, the chief defect of these frescoes, may be generally attributed to Giulio Romano; the colour, again, is not even that of Raphael's scholars, as the whole work was restored and much repainted by Carlo Maratti.—Ed.]

perfect purity which is so true an element of beauty; the more so, since, with the exception of the group to the right of the goddess, the pencil has been guided by the master's own hand.

There is a series of engravings by scholars of Marc Antonio, which represent the history of Psyche, differing from these frescoes, but also ascribed to Raphael. Vasari names as their author the Flemish artist Michael Coxcie, who worked some time in Raphael's school. If these designs are not in general worthy of Raphael, there are some, and even the greater number of the separate groups, of sufficient beauty to warrant the conclusion that the scholar must occasionally have made use of the drawings of the master.

There are other very charming representations of mythological subjects, though much injured, in the bath-room of Cardinal Bibiena, in the Vatican, above Raphael's Loggie, falsely called "il Ritiro di Giulio II." Seven small pictures are here still seen upon the walls, surrounded with charming decorations, which, together with the small remnants on the ceiling, represent the dominion and power of love among the gods. These were for the most part designed by Raphael and executed by his best scholars. The Birth of Venus, for example, is of the highest grace; also Venus and Cupid on dolphins, and Cupid complaining to Venus of his wound. The rest are chiefly designed by Giulio Romano. On the ceiling is seen Cupid triumphing over Pan in mock combat; and six conquering amorini in various festive attitudes, painted on a black ground, are on the walls beneath the chief pictures. There are repetitions of these designs in the frescoes of a villa erected on the ruins of the palace of the Cæsars, known as the Villa Spada (also known as the Villa Santini, Magnani, Mills, &c., according to its successive owners). Other mythological frescoes were formerly in the so-called Villa of Raphael[1] (also Villa Olgiati and Nelli) in the gardens of the Borghese palace. The three chief pictures have, however, been recently detached from the walls and removed to the Borghese palace.

[1] [No early authority speaks of this house as Raphael's villa; the decorations it contained were copied not only from Raphael, but from various masters: the building itself now no longer exists.—Ed.]

The piece representing the Nuptials of Alexander and Roxana is from an excellent design of Raphael's, executed probably by Perino del Vaga; while the Marriage of Vertumnus and Pomona is the composition of one of his scholars. The third piece is an imitation of a masterly composition by Michael Angelo—naked figures darting impetuously through the air are aiming their arrows at a statue of Hermes, while Cupid lies slumbering by.

In once more reviewing the immense number of Raphael's creations in painting, we must not omit, in addition to them, to mention, that he directed the works of St. Peter's, from his own plan, from the middle of the year 1514; that he had executed several other architectural works; that in the latter years of his life he was zealously occupied in superintending the exhumation of the monuments of antiquity, and in designing a restoration of ancient Rome; that he did not even omit to undertake works in sculpture; and that he died in his thirty-seventh year. When we consider these facts, we shall be filled with astonishment at the inexhaustible creative power of this master—a power never equalled in its perfection. Other masters, in their single works, perhaps in a great part of them, may claim a place beside him, but in general they had not the energy to maintain such unvarying excellence. In this respect Raphael, without any exception, is the most distinguished of modern artists. And if, even in his case, we find some less perfect productions, some occasional tendency toward a more superficial manner, this only proves that, great as he was, he shared the lot of all that is human.

Raphael died of a short and violent fever; his delicate constitution, wrought to the highest degree of susceptibility by the unceasing activity of his mind and body, offered no resistance to the violence of the disease. Unutterable was the sorrow which filled all classes in Rome, high and low—the Pope, the court, the friends and scholars of the artist. "I cannot believe myself in Rome," writes Count Castiglione, "now that my poor Raphael is no longer here." Men regarded his works with religious veneration, as if God had revealed himself through Raphael as in former days through the prophets. His lifeless remains were publicly laid out on

a splendid catafalque, while his last work, the Transfiguration, was suspended over his head. He was buried in the Pantheon, under an altar adorned by a statue of the Holy Virgin, a consecration-offering from Raphael himself. Doubts having been raised as to the precise spot, a search was made in the Pantheon in 1833, and Raphael's bones were found; the situation agreeing exactly with Vasari's description of the place of interment. On the 18th of October, in the same year, the relics were reinterred in the same spot with great solemnities.

[NOTE ON THE ORIGINAL SITUATION OF THE TAPESTRIES.

It was unnecessary to divide the tapestries of the Cappella Sistina into two series; they form in fact but one, and it is of importance to consider them in this light, as there is a second series (of which, indeed, the author speaks, p. 368), done chiefly from designs by Raphael's scholars. The remarks that follow relate to the first entire series alone.

The general plan of the Sistine Chapel has been already described (p. 201, *note*). The whole area, it was observed, is divided into two unequal parts by a white marble balustrade; the larger of these divisions, as in the old Basilicas, was appropriated to the presbytery. The frescoes by Perugino and others, on the walls below the windows, but still at a considerable height from the inlaid pavement, extended entirely round the chapel; the space underneath them was decorated with imitations of embroidered hangings, to represent the costly ornaments of this kind used in the ancient Byzantine and Roman churches. These decorations were separated at regular intervals by painted pilasters adorned with arabesques. Leo the Tenth, soon after his accession, appears to have conceived the plan of ornamenting the Presbyterium, or portion of the chapel within the balustrade, with real hangings. Eleven tapestries were accordingly executed under his auspices from cartoons by Raphael, and thus restored, in a far more perfect form, the ancient splendour of the Christian temples. The tapestries were separated, like the painted hangings, by pilasters in the same material, adorned with arabesques, and underneath the large subjects were narrower compositions in bronze colour, forming an apparent dado or socle. The new decorations were confined, as before observed, to the Presbyterium, thus giving it a more sacred character than the rest of the chapel.

At the altar was a tapestry representing the Coronation of the Virgin (Passavant, ii. 258); above it still remained a fresco by Perugino, representing the Assumption. On the right (of the spectator, facing the altar), and on a line with the former subject, was the tapestry of the Conversion of St. Paul, and on the left that of the Calling of St. Peter (Miraculous Draught

of Fishes); the first was under the fresco of the Birth of Christ, the latter under the fresco of the Finding of Moses (p. 201, *note*). These six subjects filled the lower part of the altar wall before Michael Angelo's Last Judgment occasioned their removal, in the time of Paul III. On the right wall, next, and at right angles with, the Conversion of St. Paul, the order of the tapestries was as follows:—the Punishment of Elymas, Paul and Barnabas at Lystra, Paul preaching at Athens, and the same apostle in prison during the earthquake. The last tapestry was much narrower than the rest, owing to the occupation of part of the space by the gallery of the choristers. On the opposite wall, beginning at right angles from the Calling of Peter, were Christ's Charge to Peter, the Martyrdom of Stephen, Peter and John Healing the Lame Man, and the Death of Ananias. The circumstance of the Pope's throne being on this side, again compelled a variety in the dimensions of the tapestries, and the Martyrdom of Stephen is thus of a much narrower form than the rest. These tapestries were copied in the colours of the Cartoons, but were more ornamented, the accessories being enriched with gold. The bronze-coloured designs underneath partly represented scenes from the life of Leo the Tenth. (For the account of the original situation of the tapestries, as above described, with the exception of the Coronation of the Virgin, see the interesting Essay by the Chevalier Bunsen in the Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, vol. ii. book 2, p. 408.)

It was before observed that works of art done under the auspices of the Church of Rome, for the decoration of her temples, may be generally assumed to have reference either to Christ, the Madonna, or the Church. With the Acts of the Apostles the history of the Church strictly begins, and Raphael selected the Acts of St. Peter, those of the Apostle of the Gentiles, and the death of the first martyr, to illustrate the commencement of her power and of her sufferings; the Coronation of the Virgin might be considered the type of her triumph. The same conditions must be remembered with regard to the smaller subjects from the life of Leo, for to a Romanist they represented the history of the reigning successor of St. Peter, and as such were strictly analogous. The associations connected with the original destination of works of art often add to their interest, or at least explain their intention; and it must be admitted that the associations in this case are peculiarly important and striking: it is indeed but doing justice to the painter to be alive to them. The subject of the Calling of Peter, as we have seen, was immediately next the altar: whoever recollects, in the Cartoon, the deep humility and devotion in the expression and attitude of Peter kneeling in the boat before Christ, may now also call to mind that, at the distance of a few paces, the "Head of the Church" contemplated this scene from the highest of earthly thrones. These associations may be easily pursued by comparing the situation and import of the various subjects. The authority, the miraculous powers, the duties, and the sacrifices of the Church, the propagation of the faith, persecution, martyrdom—such were the warning and inspiring themes which Raphael selected as objects of contemplation for the "successor of St. Peter."

These associations and allusions would of course only be strikingly apparent when the works were in their original situations; yet, among the merits or recommendations of the Cartoons, may be reckoned their being

interesting in all places, and to all classes of Christians. But for this circumstance, perhaps we should not now possess them, for, when the treasures of art collected by Charles the First were sold, and such pictures as were deemed "superstitious" even ordered to be "forthwith burnt" (Journal of the Commons, July 23, 1645), the Cartoons would hardly have been repurchased by Cromwell, to whom we are indebted for preserving them to the nation, if they could have been considered to come within the proscribed class.

With regard to the execution of these works, we have seen that Francesco Penni was Raphael's chief assistant. The co-operation of other scholars is also to be recognised, yet in almost all the Cartoons the hand of the master is apparent; most perhaps in the Calling of Peter (the tapestry from which was to occupy so important a place), and least in the Paul Preaching at Athens, and Christ's Charge to Peter. As designs, they are universally considered the finest inventions of Raphael: at the time he was commissioned to prepare them, the fame of Michael Angelo's ceiling, in the same chapel they were destined to adorn, was at its height; and Raphael, inspired with a noble emulation, his practice matured by the execution of several frescoes in the Vatican, treated these new subjects with an elevation of style not perhaps equalled in his former efforts. The highest qualities of these works are undoubtedly addressed to the mind as vivid interpretations of the spirit and letter of Scripture; but, as examples of Art, they are the most perfect expression of that general grandeur of treatment in form, composition, and drapery which the Italian masters contemplated from the first, as suited to the purposes of religion and the size of the temples destined to receive such works. In the Cartoons this greatness of style, not without a due regard to variety of character, pervades every figure, and is so striking in some of the apostles, as to place them on a level with the prophets of Michael Angelo.—Ed.]

CHAPTER V.

THE SCHOLARS AND FOLLOWERS OF RAPHAEL.

We have already remarked that Raphael employed a great number of scholars and assistants; these endeavoured to acquire his style, and after his death transplanted it into all the various parts of Italy from whence they had poured into his school. The conquest and pillage of Rome by the French in 1527 also contributed to disperse them. But this appropriation of Raphael's qualities by his scholars was a very questionable advantage; for as the style itself was founded essentially on his own peculiar feeling for the beautiful, on his own peculiar grace, it led to a mere imitation of his

external forms; as if the spirit, the pure feeling, of which these forms are the expression, would necessarily be transferred into the imitation. The works of Raphael's scholars are consequently often cold, formal, and insipid; it is only in a few exceptions that an original creative spirit displays itself. On the whole, they do not possess the pleasing character of Leonardo's school, nor that of the followers of the Venetian masters, of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak.

The most celebrated of Raphael's scholars is Giulio Pippi, surnamed Romano (1492–1546). He was an artist of a vigorous, daring spirit, gifted with a freedom of hand which gave life and animation to the bold and restless creations of his fancy. As long as he painted under Raphael, he not only imitated the master's touch so closely as to deceive many, but adopted, as far as his own individuality allowed, something of Raphael's grace and mode of thought in invention. Among the paths of art, however, opened by Raphael, it was especially that of the antique to which Giulio turned with the fondest delight, not only for the choice of his subjects, but with a view to make its forms and general style his own. But he altogether wanted the grace and purity of his master; and when the death of the latter freed him from restraint, his impetuous impulses began by degrees to awaken. At a later period, when he left the precincts and salutary influence of Rome, where the presence of the classic genius seemed to control his taste, he soon displayed a wildness and even coarseness in which we recognise no trace of the scholar of Raphael, except in the most general features of external form. His co-operation in Raphael's works has already been frequently alluded to.

About the period of the paintings in the Sala di Costantino, Giulio also executed some other frescoes of mythical subjects in Rome; those in the Villa Lanti,[1] which was built from his design; also scenes from the history of Rome, referring to Janus, in small, humorous pictures, and a large frieze[2] in an

[1] Peintures de la Villa Lante de l'invention de Jules Romain, rec. par les frères Piranesi, dess. par Th. Piroli.

[2] Il Fregio di Giulio Romano dip. nella Farnesina, dis. ed inc. da B. Pinelli. Roma, 1813.

upper saloon of the Farnesina (the latter is at least, with great probability, ascribed to him); both are clever, sterling works, distinguished more by power and life than grace and delicacy. Some paintings also of a cheerful character, still preserved in the Villa Madama, belong to this class. An altar-piece by Giulio, painted immediately after Raphael's death for S. Stefano in Genoa, and still there, is a more important work;[1] it represents the martyrdom of the saint. He is placed very prominently in the centre of the picture—young and beautiful, and victorious over physical suffering—illuminated by the celestial light which streams down upon him alone. Near him sits the captain of the guard; Roman soldiers, somewhat more distant, are taking aim, and seem to follow each missile with their eyes; they thus give life and truth to this part of the action, without making it the principal point of interest; this naturally centres in the figure and admirable expression of the saint. In the Dresden gallery there is a Holy Family, of equal merit, belonging to the period when Giulio's independence commenced: the Virgin holds the Child, standing in a vase, to wash him; the little St. John playfully pours in the water: the picture has thus a character of forward sportiveness; it is beautifully drawn and cleverly painted. The composition has been ascribed to Raphael; but, with all its excellence, it does not correspond with the blander feeling of this master. The splendid picture above the high altar in S. Maria dell' Anima at Rome—the Madonna enthroned with angels and saints, surrounded with rich architecture—belongs also to this latter period. This was originally painted for the Fugger family at Augsburg.

Four years after Raphael's death, Giulio was invited to Mantua, where he exerted himself greatly as a painter and architect. He erected a great number of palaces and churches, directed their rich decorations in the style of Raphael's Loggie, and adorned them with large frescoes; he assembled a great number of scholars around him, who took a share in the execution of his works. To his earliest labours belong, as it appears, the paintings in the old Ducal Palace in the city; these works unfortunately suffered much in later storms of

[1] Compare Rumohr, Drei Reisen, etc., p. 304.

war. In an apartment on the ground-floor in the Uffizio della Scalcheria are some very beautiful works; in the lunettes is represented Diana at the Chase, with very graceful and beautiful figures; in these we still perceive some reminiscence of Raphael's engaging *naïveté*: an upper saloon of the palace was filled by Giulio with frescoes from the history of the Trojan war; they are very inferior to those just mentioned, and already betray a marked insipidity of mind and manner. The artist still further departed from the noble spirit of his great master in the numerous frescoes in the Palazzo del Te, near Mantua: two saloons are especially remarkable for the number of paintings they contain; in one he represented the Overthrow of the Giants,[1] a performance in which he has been unadvisedly compared to Michael Angelo; the apartment is coved and oven-shaped, so that all sharp corners and angles are avoided: on the arched ceiling we look up into the temple of the gods, who are assembled around; the gods of the winds are introduced in the pendentives; the giants are represented on the walls, crushed by the weight of rocks and buildings; they are indeed of an uncouth size, but destitute of real power. The second chamber represents the history of Psyche and other love stories of the gods; here, with very few graceful groups, we find an almost total indifference to beautiful and noble forms, as well as to pure colouring; and these faults cannot be altogether laid to the charge of assistants: a coarseness of conception is visible throughout, which, in some of the pictures (that of Olympia, for example!), can hardly be carried further.[2]

[1] "Giove che fulmine li Giganti, rappresentato in pitture da Giulio Romano, ecc. dis. ed int. da Pietro Santi Bartolo, Roma." The execution of this apartment was consigned to Rinaldo Mantovano; but that he was not the designer, as was formerly maintained, is proved by Gaye, in the Kunstbl. 1838, No. 71, and further. See also Gaye, Cartegg. ii. p. 257.

[2] [A small vaulted chamber exists also in the garden of the palace, apparently not remembered by Kugler when he pronounced the harsh judgment which seems to confine the merit of Raphael's distinguished scholar to his master's lifetime. For the details the reader is referred to an excellent criticism by T. Phillips, the late Academician, printed in Murray's 'Handbook for N. Italy:' we have here space only to indicate the general character. In a series of eleven small frescoes, covering the ceiling and the walls beneath, Giulio has here represented an Allegory of Human Life, in a style which, for masterly touch and consummate grace of design, yields to no *decorative* work of

DESTRUCTION OF THE GIANTS: a fresco by Giulio Romano, in the Palazzo del Te at Mantua page 400.

Side of an Apartment in the Palazzo del Te at Mantua; painted in fresco by Giulio Romano. page 400.

Few easel-pictures by Giulio exist. Besides the works of his early days already mentioned, there are some beautiful large pictures of mythical subjects in the Manfrini Gallery at Venice, which contain many graceful features, though the general conception is somewhat insipid. In the sacristy of St. Peter's at Rome there is a Madonna, half-length figure, with the two Children, which belongs to his earlier and more careful period. A Scourging of Christ, in the sacristy of S. Prassede at Rome, is more mannered; and a group of three almost naked figures is distinguished by an unpleasant brick-red colour in the flesh-tints. In the gallery of the Louvre, Giulio is represented by several very characteristic works—an excellently painted Madonna with both the Children, the highly spirited portrait of himself, an admirable representation of Vespasian and Titus, and a large Circumcision of Christ, of many figures, in which the decided execution of the painter already degenerates into mannerism. Two Madonnas, after a somewhat robust model, with the infant Christ in a petulant action, are in the Borghese gallery; a similar picture is in the Colonna palace; all three are probably of his early time. Several pictures of no very great merit are in different English collections; the best is in Lord Northwick's gallery in England; it represents the education of Jupiter by Nymphs and Corybantes; a bold and poetically conceived scene, in rich river-side landscape of careful execution and powerful colouring.

The numerous scholars formed in Mantua by Giulio followed the unpleasing manner of their master, in some instances exaggerating it; in others, softening it by greater simplicity and truth of nature. The most important are, the Mantuans Rinaldo and Fermo Guisoni (a clever Crucifixion by the latter is in S. Andrea in Mantua), and the miniature-painter Giulio Clovio: a very neatly illuminated missal, painted by him for Cardinal Farnese, is in the library at Naples; the beautiful bronze-work on the cover is by Benvenuto Cellini. The later miniatures also in an Urbino manuscript of Dante,

Raphael's. It is a poem without words—lavish of original and felicitous incident, and inspired throughout with a feeling pure and tender as any Idyl of the great Poet of Mantua.—P.]

now in the library of the Vatican, are the work of Clovio. The paltry conceits of the allegories disturb the otherwise excellent execution. But among Giulio's scholars, the Bolognese Francesco Primaticcio (1490–1570), formerly the scholar of Innocenzo da Imola and Bagnacavallo, deserves especial mention. He executed the numerous stuccoes in the Palazzo del Te, and was afterwards invited by Francis I. into France, where he directed some decorations in the palace of Fontainebleau,[1] similar to those of Giulio at Mantua, and in general in a similar style: the king, as a reward, created him Abbot of St. Martin. The figures have generally something over-slender and affected. Among his few existing easel-pictures is his "Ulysses returned to Penelope," a work of noble character, careful execution, but weak colouring, now in the collection at Castle Howard. Francesco's assistant and follower in these works was Niccolò dell' Abate, who also adopted the style of the Raphael school. In his native city, Modena, in the Palazzo della Commune, there is a series of paintings by him, in a simple, noble style, free from mannerism. A beautiful Adoration of the Shepherds is in the Portico de' Leoni at Bologna. The pictures he executed on the walls of the Castle of Scandiano, from the Æneid,[2] have less merit. In the gallery of Dresden there is a large altar-picture by him, representing the Beheading of St. Paul; it is, however, more mannered than the works before referred to, and contains besides reminiscences of Correggio, consequently of the school from which Niccolò had originally proceeded. An excellent Rape of Proserpine, in a rich, fantastically lighted landscape, is in the Stafford House Gallery.

Another of Raphael's scholars was the Florentine Pierino Buonaccorsi, called Perino del Vaga (1500–1547). In various collections we find his Madonnas and other subjects more or less successful in their imitation of Raphael, but without his depth or beauty. He was endowed, however,

[1] The principal work of Primaticcio at Fontainebleau, the Gallery of Ulysses, no longer exists. The historical representations are known to us by a work, 'Les Travaux d'Ulisse peints à Fontainebleau par le Primatice, par Theodore van Thulden. 1633.' (58 plates, lightly and spiritedly etched.)

[2] L' Eneide di Virgilio dip. in Scandiano dal celebre pitt. Niccolò Abati, dis. dal Gius. Guizzardi, inc. dal Ant. Gajani ecc. Modena, 1821.

with a peculiar lightness and facility of production. The rapid degeneration of his style is still more striking than in Giulio Romano. Beside the above-mentioned works, Perino executed, under Raphael's superintendence, or at all events from his drawings, the figures of the planets in the great hall of the Appartamento Borgia, in the Vatican. After the sacking of Rome, Perino went to Genoa, and there decorated the Doria Palace in a style similar to that adopted by Giulio Romano at Mantua; he embellished it with the richest ornaments, stuccoes, and frescoes, the subjects of the latter being taken from classic fables and histories. At a later period Perino returned to Rome, where he opened a great studio, in which, however, nothing but mechanical works were produced. A charming little picture, the rival songs of the Muses and the Pierides on Mount Parnassus, is in the Louvre. A Nativity, with four saints, of the year 1534, formerly in Cardinal Fesch's gallery at Rome, combines with powerful and light treatment a great intrinsic emptiness and feebleness. A portrait of Cardinal Pole, in the collection of Lord Spencer at Althorp, belongs, on the other hand, like most of the portraits of this school, to the best specimens of the master. Among the numerous scholars whom he formed at Genoa, Lazzaro and Pantaleo Calvi are favourably mentioned.

Gianfrancesco Penni, surnamed "Il Fattore," the brother-in-law of Perino, was, with the exception of Giulio, Raphael's most confidential scholar. His paintings are rare, as he died in early life, eight years after Raphael. In Naples, where he resided in his latter years, are some in which we recognise an unaffected, but not profound, master of the Roman school. The lower half of the Coronation of the Virgin, for Monte Luce, which he is said to have executed after Raphael's death, is scarcely above mediocrity; the features are expressionless, the actions violent, and the colouring cold and muddy. A Charity and a Hope, pretty but unmeaning pictures, have migrated from the Borghese palace to England. Penni left one scholar in Naples, Lionardo, surnamed "Il Pistoja," a Tuscan by birth. This artist, in the early part of his life, appears to have formed a style from the influence of Leonardo da Vinci's works, and to have afterwards united it with the

Roman manner; a Madonna and Child, in the Berlin Museum —a picture not destitute of merit—may serve as an example.

One of Raphael's most distinguished scholars, Andrea Sabbatini, of Salerno (Andrea da Salerno), an artist but little known, received his first education in the old school of Naples—the school of the Donzelli, Silvestro de' Buoni, &c. —and afterwards remained some time in Rome with Raphael. Family affairs soon recalled him to Naples, in 1513, and Raphael unwillingly parted with a scholar of so much talent. It is probable that this artist's short residence in Rome preserved him from the insipidity of manner so common to all Raphael's other scholars; it is only in the later works of Andrea that the degenerate Roman manner is perceptible, when other Roman influences (that of Penni among the rest) had given a new direction to Neapolitan Art. Andrea's works are almost unknown out of Naples; the Museo Borbonico and the churches of that city contain a great number. His earlier works are of the old Neapolitan school; in others the artist strikingly resembles Raphael in his youthful Florentine period. Among these are two extremely beautiful little pictures in the Museum of Naples, from the history of S. Placido. There exist also several highly finished works, evincing a noble, refined feeling, and which are distinguished by their beautiful drawing, and light but warm colouring. The best is an Adoration of the Kings, also in the Museo Borbonico. His later works, as before observed, are more superficial; but they too are excellent in some portions, particularly in the heads. These works, however, seem to have formed the style of his scholars and followers, amongst whom Francesco Santafede, and his son Fabrizio, are favourably distinguished. There are many works by them in Naples not altogether without merit. Giambernardo Lama, a contemporary of Andrea, and also from the old Neapolitan school, belongs to the same class. These last-mentioned painters, whose style may be chiefly examined in the Studj gallery, combine with a mannered but careful execution an inward simplicity and unpretending beauty surprising to find in the middle of the sixteenth century.

Besides Penni and Andrea da Salerno, a third scholar of

Raphael exercised an important influence on Neapolitan Art —Polidoro Caldara (Polidoro da Caravaggio), originally a mason employed in the works of the Vatican. His predominant talent for painting was developed only at a late period; it is said that he and Maturino of Florence embellished the exterior of several palaces in Rome with paintings in chiaroscuro;[1] these are chiefly friezes with subjects from ancient history and mythology. The little that has been preserved of them, as well as the still existing copies and designs (for instance a beautiful drawing in brown of the history of the Niobe in the Corsini palace), display a most decided tendency to the later Raphaelesque style. The study of the antique is here united to picturesqueness of effect with masterly freedom, while the mannerism which undermined the school of Raphael is still subdued by a great freshness of power. In Polidoro's few easel-pictures also of this time, for instance, in a scene from the history of Psyche, in the Louvre, we still trace beautiful reminiscences of Raphael's elevation of character. His later works executed in Naples and Messina show a totally different style. The mannered idealism of his Roman contemporaries is here replaced by a gaudy and somewhat unpleasant naturalism, which, though hitherto kept down by the noble examples around him, may be considered as the original tendency of this painter. At the same time, even in this representation of common nature, he evinces much power, life, and passion, being the first to suggest that style which afterwards became the basis of the Neapolitan school. His principal work—Christ bearing his Cross, painted in Messina—is now, with a number of smaller pictures of sacred subjects, in the Studj Gallery at Naples. It is a highly animated, and, despite the meanness of the forms, imposing composition, of gloomy brown colouring, like most of Polidoro's later works. A similarly treated Adoration of the Shepherds, of his late time, is in the pos-

[1] See engravings, 'Opere di Polidoro da Caravaggio dis. ed int. da Gio. Bapt. Galestruzzi,' Roma, 1653. The frieze of the Casa Gaddi is engraved by Santi Bartoli. The technical process of this chiaroscuro is well known. The wall is painted with a dark colour, and a lighter one laid over it; and then the design scratched into it with a pointed instrument, so that the dark lower colour is seen through the lines.

session of Dr. Carové at Frankfort, also a portrait of the master.

Many artists from the Bolognese school of Francia entered into that of Raphael, as Andrea da Salerno had entered it from an older Neapolitan school; they generally acquired a pleasing manner, but always retained, in a greater or less degree, the direction of their earlier teacher. Of these may be named Timoteo della Vite, or Viti (1470-1523). Like Raphael, he was born at Urbino, and returned there after a comparatively short residence in Rome. There is an extremely pleasing picture of his earlier time, before he joined Raphael, in the Gallery of the Brera at Milan; it represents a Madonna with an angel and two saints, in a landscape. The heads recall Francia and Perugino. A S. Appollonia, in the church of S. Trinità at Urbino, is cold and dry. Two bishops with donors, in the sacristy of the cathedral (1504), and a Holy Family in the oratory of S. Giuseppe in the same town, are not much more attractive. Later, under Raphael's influence, he partook slightly of his grace, without entirely abandoning the Umbrian manner. To this period belongs an excessively attractive picture in the Gallery at Bologna: it represents a Magdalen; she stands in a cave, clothed in a red mantle; her hair flows to her feet, as she leans her head gracefully towards her left shoulder. The picture, though in the old manner, is extremely well executed; the drapery falls in large and beautiful folds; the painting is soft and warm, and the expression of the countenance full of feeling. Another early picture, in the Brera at Milan, representing the Conception of the Virgin, with several figures of saints, though beautifully drawn, has a certain affectation, and that cold, silver-grey colouring which occurs often in his works. The same may be said of the altar-piece in S. Angelo at Cagli, representing the risen Saviour with the Marys, and several saints. Some fresco-paintings in the little church of S. Caterina di Siena at Rome are ascribed to him, but these are much injured, and only show the general type of the Roman school; otherwise, Timoteo's works are very rare. In the Berlin Museum there is a Madonna enthroned, with several children and two saints, now assigned to him, though formerly,

from a false inscription, ascribed to Giovanni Santi; also a little St. Jerome in the Wilderness. Timoteo was also distinguished as a miniature-painter.

A second artist from Francia's school was Bartolommeo Ramenghi, called Bagnacavallo from his birthplace. He afterwards returned to Bologna, and transplanted the style of the Roman school to that city; his pictures also are rare in galleries. Bagnacavallo displays a steady aim at grandeur and freedom of conception, while the foundation of simplicity of representation which he laid in Francia's school preserved him from the scattered and affected manner of Raphael's other scholars. He was deficient, however, in that inward power which was necessary to animate the grand forms he preferred, and his works convey the impression of something conventional and borrowed, gleanings apparently from Francia and Raphael. In S. Maria della Pace at Rome there are the colossal figures of a prophet and a saint in armour in fresco by his hand: there is something studied, however, in the large treatment of the forms. In the Gallery of Bologna there is a Holy Family surrounded by saints, not powerfully painted, but pleasing in expression. In the Gallery of Dresden a Madonna, in a glory with four male saints, bears his name—a picture of great and energetic expression. In another large picture of several saints, in the Berlin Museum, the former pupil of Francia is easily to be recognised, particularly in the expression of the heads. There is also a mannered though animated sketch of a troop of warriors before a city, ascribed to him, in the Colonna Palace at Rome; and in the Solly collection a Madonna with angels and saints of noble character and excellent execution. Biagio Pupini was an assistant of Bagnacavallo in Rome, and in his later works in Bologna.[1]

A third scholar of Francia, Innocenzo Francucci da Imola, did not indeed reside in Rome, and remained but a short time in Florence (with Mariotto Albertinelli) after he had left his master's school, yet he became one of Raphael's most zealous followers; he has even repeated whole figures from that master's works into his own compositions. In the Gallery of

[1] P. Giordani, sulle Pitture d' Innocenzo Francucci da Imola. Milano, 1819.

Bologna, for example, there is a large altar-picture, formerly in S. Michele in Bosco, into which he has copied the Archangel Michael from Raphael in an indifferent style, and he has injudiciously placed close to this figure, which descends in impetuous flight, two saints, standing in tranquil attitudes. Hovering beside the Madonna are angels, also copied from Raphael's "Disputà." An extremely well painted Holy Family, transferred to the Gallery of Bologna from the church of Corpus Domini, is more important than this celebrated picture; the composition is full of life, and sufficiently resembles Raphael's style. One of his best pictures is in the Cathedral of Faenza. A pleasing Madonna with saints, of the year 1527, was in the Solly collection, and afterwards in that of the King of Holland. The Berlin Museum also contains a graceful picture by Innocenzo, but in this instance again the Madonna enthroned on clouds is an imitation of Raphael's Madonna di Fuligno; the expression of the saints below is thoughtful and noble. His small Madonnas and Holy Families are not unfrequent in galleries; they are in general easily recognised by the composition, in the style of the Roman school, and by the Francia-like expression of the heads. Two are in the Borghese Palace at Rome.

To these artists may be added Girolamo Marchesi da Cotignola, who was formed in Francia's school, and painted for a long time in the old style. To this portion of his life belongs a Coronation of the Virgin, with angels, and two saints in front, in the Berlin Museum; a picture of constrained arrangement, but of great sweetness in the heads. Later in life this painter came to Rome and adopted the style there prevalent. A Madonna with kneeling monks, excellently painted, and with admirable heads, is in the Berlin Museum. A Madonna in the clouds, with a Conversation of Saints below, animated and of powerful effect, is in the Solly collection.

Primaticcio and Pellegrino Tibaldi (Pellegrino Pellegrini) were scholars of Bagnacavallo and Innocenzo da Imola: the former we have seen employed in France, and with Giulio Romano; the latter went to Spain, and transplanted the Roman manner into that country. His paintings, which

occur but rarely in Italy, are distinguished by an unaffected grace and the expression of earnest feeling: the Marriage of St. Catherine, in the Gallery of Bologna, is an example; and in the same style is a St. Cecilia with two angels playing on musical instruments, half-figures, in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna.[1] The frescoes of the Remigius chapel in S. Luigi de' Francesi at Rome are more mannered.

From the old school of Ferrara, Benvenuto Tisio (surnamed Garofalo from his native city) passed into that of Raphael; he was for some time a scholar of Lorenzo Costa, but appears to have imbibed little of that master's manner; his style is more that of the Ferrarese school, as we see it in the works of Lodovico Mazzolino in its highest perfection: in Garofalo it is to be traced in a rather fantastic mode of conception, and in a peculiarly abrupt and vivid colouring never wholly laid aside even after he had adopted the Roman manner and somewhat modified his colouring. The most considerable works of his later time are not always the most attractive. There is an empty ideality of expression and a deficiency of making out in his large figures which the most brilliant execution cannot conceal: with his numerous works also there is a certain monotony. Smaller easel-pictures, which are the best specimens of Garofalo's powers, occur frequently in galleries, especially in Rome, in the Borghese Palace and other collections. Of his large compositions the most celebrated are the Entombment in the Borghese Palace, executed carefully and with a good understanding of effect. Another of similar arrangement, but with more repose and intensity, is in the Studj Gallery at Naples. A Salutation of the Virgin is in the Doria Gallery at Rome; an Adoration of the Child, who is lying on the earth, is in the same collection. A Madonna in clouds, with a Santa Conversazione below beautifully painted, but, excepting the principal figure, unmeaning in expression, is in the Academy at Venice; and another admirable Madonna with saints is in the National

[1] [Tibaldi might rather be classed with the followers of Michael Angelo; for if he was at first a scholar of Bagnacavallo (which is not certain), he never ceased to aim at the manner of Michael Angelo after having studied in the Cappella Sistina at Rome. The Caracci called him "Il Michelagnolo riformato."—ED.]

Gallery in London. In his works at Ferrara, painted after his return, the Roman style predominates. In S. Francesco at Ferrara there are several of his large altar-pictures, some of great merit, and among others, a fresco representing "Christ Betrayed." In S. Andrea also, at Ferrara, there is a large work by Garofalo over the high altar. A large fresco belonging to the refectory of the same church has been lately taken down and removed to the public gallery; it represents the triumph of the New Testament over the Old in a strange allegory. Some school pictures by the master are also there.

Contemporary with Garofalo, the brothers Giovan Battista Dossi, and the more celebrated Dosso Dossi (died 1560), flourished at Ferrara. They also passed some time in Rome, but not till after Raphael's death. Their works display a Venetian influence in the style of Giorgione, as well as the fundamental style of the Ferrara school. The distinctive peculiarities of Dosso Dossi are not fully shown in his altar-pieces; these are stately representations of great decision and richness, in the style of Garofalo: for instance, several pictures in the Dresden Gallery, among which the Four Fathers of the Church, with the Glory of the Virgin, and the First Person of the Trinity, are of the highest merit. The picture of the Four Fathers of the Church, in the Berlin Gallery, is of weaker character. The attainments of Dosso Dossi are seen in another aspect in his favourite mythological and fantastic subjects. A somewhat stiff and probably early picture of this kind is the so-called Bacchanal in the Pitti palace at Florence—a motley carnival group of ladies and gentlemen; some of them half-naked are pressing round a table on which lie masks, musical instruments, &c. If the composition appear to be studied and overcrowded here, we see him, on the other hand, in his "Circe" (in the Borghese Gallery) indulging in the freest naïveté of expression. The Enchantress, a form of pleasing individuality, and clad in a purple and gold robe of state, with a rich turban, is seated in a beautiful forest landscape. The successful exertion of her magic art is expressed in her confident and triumphant action: she holds in her right hand a tablet with necromantic signs; at her

feet is a magic circle, a coat of mail, a dog, and two birds; near her are several little hags bound to a tree; at a distance are three knights bivouacking on the grass. A wild and night-like fancy is shown in that picture in the Dresden Gallery, called "the Dream." In his later years (after 1554) Dosso Dossi, assisted by his brother, painted several apartments of the ducal palace at Ferrara. In the Aurora Saloon several of the mythological ceiling subjects are still preserved —Aurora on her Car, Apollo on his, &c. In the long saloon there is a ceiling, also an excellent frieze with bacchanals and other antique scenes; similar subjects are in the saloon "del gran Consiglio." In a small room is a bacchanalian scene, treated more as a landscape, in which Titian assisted; it is now much ruined. Many features in these works recall the tendency of Giulio Romano, nor do we fail to trace with much that is excellent a certain conventionality and hardness.[1]

Two fantastic landscapes by the hand of Giambattista Dossi, in the style of his Netherlandish contemporaries, are in the Borghese Palace at Rome; the one represents a distinguished company encamped upon the shore, the other, demons in a wilderness, probably after the example of Jerome Bosch, or some such kindred mind.

A similar tendency to the style of Garofalo is displayed by other Ferrarese masters of the time—Giambattista Benvenuti, called L'Ortolano (or market-gardener, after his father's way of life), and Caligarino (so called because he was originally a shoemaker, and, as it is said, became a painter from a remark of Dosso Dossi's, that the boots he had made him fitted as if painted). Some good pictures by the first of these two painters are in the Berlin Museum.[2]

We now return to Raphael's own school, where we still find some artists who deserve attention, especially Giovanni da Udine, who assisted Raphael in the arabesques of the Loggie, and in other decorative works. Giovanni was particularly distinguished in representations of fruit, animals,

[1] See Kunstbl. 1841, No. 74.

[2] Here we must again mention Lodovico Mazzolino, whose artistic activity held a parallel course to that pursued by the Ferrarese followers of Raphael; and who perhaps, in his later pictures, adopted something of Garofalo's manner.

birds, and still life of all kinds; he painted them so naturally, that a stable-boy, who sought in haste for a carpet to spread for the Pope, ran to the Loggie to take a painted one from the wall. The beautiful decorative paintings in the first arcade in the first story of the Loggie of the Vatican, and the pleasing frieze with children playing, in an apartment of the Villa Madama at Rome, are among Giovanni's more independent works. After the sacking of Rome, Giovanni was employed in many other parts of Italy. In his old age he returned to Udine.[1] We must mention here an excellent picture in the Academy at Venice, ascribed to his youth, which tends to prove that he was already a distinguished scholar of the Venetian school when he came to Raphael: it represents Christ among the Doctors, with the Four Fathers of the Church in front; a quiet and beautiful composition, with the deepest expression of surprise, conviction, and inspiration.

Other scholars of Raphael were Pellegrino da Modena, of whom little certain is preserved; Tommaso Vincidore of Bologna (the Thomas Polonius of Albert Dürer's Journal); Vincenzio di S. Gimignano, who, assisted by a painter of the name of Schizzone, painted façades of palaces in the style of Polidoro; and Jacomone di Faenza, an artist of no repute. The two Milanese, Gaudenzio Ferrari and Cesare da Sesto, have been already mentioned. The companions of Raphael in Perugino's school, Alfani and Adone Doni, afterwards adopted the Roman style. Some northern artists also formed themselves under Raphael, such as the Flemish painter Michael Coxcie, who endeavoured to imbibe the style of the great artist, and afterwards practised it in his native country; Georg Pens, originally a scholar of Albert Dürer, &c. To conclude, we must not omit the influence which Raphael exercised on the art of engraving. In this department, Marcantonio Raimondi, or Marco del Francia, of Bologna, is particularly distinguished: he received his first instructions in the art of niello from Francesco Francia, then

[1] [There is a ceiling in the Archbishop's palace at Udine painted by Giovanni in the style of the Loggie of the Vatican: the artist's house, decorated with stucco ornaments and figures in relief, also exists.—Ed.]

turned his attention to engraving, and began by copying his master's works; he then imitated Mantegna, afterwards Albert Dürer, and perfected himself in drawing under Raphael, who distinguished him with his favour, and allowed him to engrave his drawings. Marcantonio also engraved after Michael Angelo, Giulio Romano, &c., in like manner from their own drawings. Two of his scholars assisted him in engraving after Raphael—Agostino Veneziano and Marco Ravignano: thus the art of engraving reached a high degree of perfection soon after its commencement in the studio of Raphael, through Marcantonio and his followers. In all that regards drawing and precision of outline, the engravings of this time have never been surpassed by later productions, though inferior in delicacy of modelling, gradation of tones, and other picturesque effects which are now required. The highest importance of this engraving school consisted in its having been so immediately under Raphael's influence, and so acted upon by his spirit, that it was able to render his style, even where, as in many cases, only a slight drawing served as a model and the accessories were left to them to complete in the spirit of the great master. Thus it happened that in the hands of such artists even the works of other painters acquired a Raphaelesque stamp. The spread of Raphael's fame, and the supremacy of his style, is owing in no slight measure to their engravings.

CHAPTER VI.

MASTERS OF SIENA AND VERONA.

We have already mentioned how the school of Siena, deeply as it had declined in the fifteenth century, sought to renew its powers at the congenial source of the Umbrian school. This attempt was successfully made by several painters in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and especially by Jacopo Pacchiorotto (see p. 269). It required, however, the influence of a master in whom every artistic quality belonging to the time should be united, to raise Sienese art to the high standard of the sixteenth century; and such a master ap-

peared in the person of the Lombard Gianantonio Razzi—born about 1480, died 1549—who was one of the most attractive painters of his time. Razzi was a native of Vercelli, and appears to have been formed under Leonardo da Vinci; he afterwards settled in Siena, of which place he became a citizen. In his figures, particularly of women, he resembles Leonardo; they unite grace, tenderness, and sweetness with an earnestness and fervour not to be found perhaps in any other artist. Had the sentiment of beauty been more fixed in his mind, had his drawing and grouping been more correct, he would have been one of the first artists of any time.[1] The earliest known works of Razzi (about 1502) are the twenty-six well-preserved frescoes representing the history of St. Benedict, in the convent of S. Uliveto Maggiore (not far from the high road between Siena and Rome), where Luca Signorelli had already executed some works.[2] Here he appears severe, and evidently aims at individuality of character. Soon after this he painted the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, in the refectory of the neighbouring convent of S. Anna, a work which is also in a good state of preservation. At a later period he was employed by Julius II. in Rome. His works in the Vatican, with the exception of some arabesques and ornaments on the ceilings, were soon effaced, to make way for Raphael. A few of his pictures are preserved in the Farnesina, where he painted the Marriage of Alexander with Roxana, and Alexander in the Tent of Darius, in an apartment of the upper story. Here we see the most attractive and graceful female forms, although many of the details betray a want of practical skill and experience.

Razzi appears more important in his later works; his best work is at Siena, in S. Domenico, in the chapel of S. Caterina da Siena. On the altar-wall he has represented, on one side,

[1] [Razzi's peculiarly graceful and picturesque treatment of landscape—somewhat resembling what we see in F. Francia's fresco works—deserves attention. Every great artist—by virtue of the unity that pervades his art in proportion to its greatness—displays a conception of scenery accordant with his conception of life and character,—sometimes reflecting human feeling—sometimes ironically contrasted,—and, in any true and complete judgment of his productions, inseparable from it.—P.]

[2] [Rumohr, Ital. Forsch. vol. ii. p. 387.—Ed.]

St. Catherine in ecstasy; God the Father, with the Madonna and the infant Christ, appear to her, with several inexpressibly beautiful angels; on the other side of the altar the saint is represented fainting, supported by nuns, while Christ appears above. This is a very masterly picture; the pathetic expression of the figure and countenance is wonderfully beautiful. A third picture on a side wall is not remarkable as a composition, but excellent in the single figures.

Razzi executed another work of great merit in conjunction with Pacchiorotto (see p. 269) and another Sienese, Beccafumi, in the oratory of the brotherhood of S. Bernardino: here the history of the Virgin is represented in figures larger than life in several pictures, divided by light pilasters; the greater part is Razzi's; his spirit pervades the whole, and even raises the works of his fellow-labourers to its own peculiar sphere. The best of these works are the Visit of Mary to Elizabeth, and the Assumption. There are also frescoes by Razzi in the public palace, and altar-pieces in different churches of Siena: for example, a Deposition from the Cross, of the year 1513, in S. Francesco; some frescoes in S. Spirito; an Adoration of the Kings in S. Agostino; with other works on private houses and on the town gates of S. Viene. Otherwise his works are not frequently met with in collections, and for this reason he is far less known than he deserves. In Florence there are excellent works by him; for example, a St. Sebastian, in the Uffizj, a figure drawn in the noblest proportions, though very severe in colouring: in this last respect it is an exception to his general style, for a soft and warm tone is one of the characteristic beauties of his works; the expression of grief in the countenance is of the most touching beauty. A Resurrection in the Studj gallery at Naples is distinguished by the beautiful forms of the angels, and by a highly animated expression. A portrait of Lucretia, painted for Agostino Chigi, of very beautiful form, worthy even of Raphael, is now in the possession of the Hanoverian minister at Rome, M. Comthur v. Kestner. A Scourging of Christ, transposed from the wall to canvass, is in the Academy at Siena. An excellent Sacrifice of Abraham is in the chapel of the Campo Santo at Pisa. A Dead Christ,

surrounded by his disciples, somewhat coarsely executed, but of a grand character, in the Berlin Museum, and a charming and excellently painted Madonna in the Borghese Palace at Rome, are both ascribed to Razzi.

Michael Anselmi (surnamed Michelangelo da Siena) and Bartolommeo Neroni, who commonly bore the name of Maestro Riccio, were scholars of Razzi. Two large paintings by the latter, in the Sienese Academy, already show the influence of the Florentine manner, and remind us but little of his first instructor. Domenico Beccafumi (surnamed Meccherino) has been mentioned as having been employed with Razzi in the oratory of S. Bernardino: in those works he approaches to the noble, simple grace of his master: in the Sienese Academy there is a grand and beautiful altar-picture by him. In his latter works, however, he is more mechanical, and only retains the beautiful external forms he had learned in Florence; but as his colours are always clear and lasting, his pictures (some of which are preserved in the public palace in Siena) produce at least an agreeable effect on the eye. One of the most interesting of his later works is the pavement of the choir of the Duomo at Siena, which is formed of a mosaic of bright and dark marbles, with lines of shading in the style of niello. Older works of this kind, which are quite peculiar to this cathedral, are merely drawn, in a manner resembling niello.

This series of the Sienese artists closes with Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1536), one of the best modern architects, and who, as such, fills an important place in the history of architecture; he also deserves honourable mention as a painter. His progress is similar in development to that of his Sienese contemporaries: for example, there are paintings by him on the ceiling of the saloon of the Farnesina (in which Raphael painted his "Galatea"), which rather lean to the early style of the fifteenth century, but contain some graceful and interesting details. The paintings which he executed on the walls of the tribune in S. Onofrio in Rome, below the paintings of Pinturicchio in the semi-dome, are more important, yet still in the old style; they represent a Madonna enthroned with saints—on one side the Adoration of the Kings, on the

other the Flight into Egypt—and contain very graceful heads. A standing figure of Charity, with three children, of severe beauty, is in the Berlin Museum. At a later period Peruzzi adopted the Roman style, but sacrificed, in his efforts after external beauty of form, the artless grace which distinguished his early works. His principal work at this time is a picture in the little church Fonte Giusta at Siena—a Sibyl announcing the birth of Christ to Augustus. The figure of the sibyl is not without grandeur, but the effect of the whole is cold. An altar-piece in S. Maria della Pace at Rome (the first chapel on the left), and a Presentation of the Virgin (in the same church), in which the architectural portions are the chief features in the picture, are of inferior value. An Adoration of the Kings, in the Bridgewater Gallery in London, is of indifferent merit in the heads, and, as in Peruzzi's later manner, fantastic in the costumes.[1] Peruzzi was also distinguished in architectural decorative painting; the Farnesina (in Rome), which was built by him, contained beautiful examples of this style, but the decorations of an apartment in the second story are all that remain. The beautiful ornaments of the exterior, executed in green, have disappeared; and this graceful building, once so much admired, now makes but a poor appearance.

The Veronese Gianfrancesco Carotto (about 1470–1546) may be compared to Razzi in the general tendency of his style, and the success with which he followed it up; like the Sienese painter, too, he is less known than he deserves. Out of Verona his works are very rare; but in the churches of that city, as well as in the Palazzo del Consiglio, there are ample materials from which an idea may be formed of his merit. He was educated in the school of Andrea Mantegna, but has little in common with him; he inclines much more to the manner of Leonardo, and must have derived his peculiar taste from the influence of that master: in his later works, however, there is an evident approach to Raphael's style; and in this instance, fortunately, it has not produced the injurious effects of which we have already given so many examples.

[1] [Another picture of this subject, ascribed to Peruzzi, as well as a corresponding drawing, is in the National Gallery. Respecting a painting of the same composition by Girolamo da Trevigi, see Vasari, Life of Peruzzi.—Ed.]

In his early works Carotto appears constrained, and leans to the older manner, particularly that of Girolamo dai Libri; his best and maturest characteristics are seen in his works in the Cappella degli Spolverini, in S. Eufemia at Verona. In the middle picture of the altar are represented the three archangels, in the side panels two female saints; the expression in the heads of the angels is extremely mild and noble—that of St. Michael especially has an almost celestial purity: the upper portions of the figures are very beautiful, the lower limbs are less perfect. The two female saints have more of a statue-like severity, and are cold in expression. On the side wall Carotto painted the History of Tobias: of these excellent pictures the lower one is especially graceful; the mother of Tobias embraces her daughter-in-law, while Tobias himself heals the eyes of his blind father. These frescoes are, alas! in some parts painted over and much injured.

The warm and well-blended colouring of Carotto forms a peculiar contrast to the severe style of his drawing.

CHAPTER VII.

CORREGGIO AND HIS SCHOLARS.

Antonio Allegri,[1] surnamed "Correggio" from his birthplace, was born in 1494 and died in 1534: he probably received his first instructions in the school of Mantegna, that is, from Francesco Mantegna, for Andrea died in 1506. It is also ascertained that Francesco Bianchi Ferrari, belonging to the old Lombard school (see p. 231), was his teacher.[2] The works of Leonardo da Vinci, however, and his school appear to have exercised a more important influence on him, though only as a preparation for that manner which he afterwards formed for himself.

[1] See Gius. Ratti, Notizie storiche sincere intorno la vita ed opere di Antonio Allegri da Correggio: Finale, 1781. Pungileoni, Memorie istoriche di Ant. Allegri, detto il Correggio: Parma, 1817. Outlines in Landon, Vies et Œuvres, etc.; Corrége. See also the German translation of Vasari, vol. iii. part ii. p. 60. Correggio's poverty is probably much exaggerated: the well-known anecdote of his death is a fable. Vasari is, however, probably correct in saying that Correggio was never in Rome.

[2] See Waagen's Paris, p. 420.

Correggio is distinguished by a *subjective* mode of conception, of that kind which may perhaps be best defined by the word sensibility, but which is not to be confounded with the false, lachrymose sensibility which has become so much the fashion in modern times; it is rather susceptibility, the highly-wrought capacity to feel, the liveliness of the affections, which are the pervading characteristics of Correggio's works. These qualities lead to a peculiar treatment and choice of subjects. In his compositions all is life and motion, even in subjects that seem to prescribe a solemn repose, such as simple altar-pictures. All his figures express the overflowing consciousness of life, the impulse of love and pleasure; he delights to represent the buoyant glee of childhood—the bliss of earthly, the fervour of heavenly love; seldom does sorrow intrude into his world of joy, but it is so much the deeper from the artist's vivid capacity for the opposite feeling.

In the works of Correggio there is, on the whole, little display of beautiful forms; the movements of his figures, which unceasingly produce the most varied foreshortening, are obviously opposed to it. So decided is his taste for these perspective appearances, that even a Madonna, seated in divine tranquillity on her throne, is represented by him as if seen from underneath, so that in the drawing her knees appear almost to touch her breast. But, instead of form, another element of beauty predominates in Correggio—that of chiaroscuro, that peculiar play of light and shade which spreads such an harmonious repose over his works. His command over this element is founded on that delicacy of perception, that quickness of feeling, which is alive to every lighter play of form, and is thus enabled to reproduce it in exquisite *modelling*. Correggio knew how to anatomize light and shade in endless gradation; to give the greatest brilliancy without dazzling, the deepest shade without offending the eye by dull blackness. The relation of colours is observed with the same masterly skill, so that each appears in itself subdued, yet powerful in relation to others. But while Correggio attained one of the highest summits of modern art, it is to be observed, that this his peculiar excellence (as in the instance of Michael Angelo) leads him into many an exaggeration,

and exposes him to criticism for many an error in drawing; and, what is far worse, that his expression of the passions borders not unfrequently on affectation.[1]

At the same time Correggio may be justly admitted as a worthy competitor with the three great masters of the Florentine and Roman schools. Not so, however, if we declare the higher elements of beauty and dignity, of ideal grandeur of form and of intensity of expression, to be not only the principal, but the exclusive objects of art, for in these respects, especially when compared with Raphael, Correggio was often deficient or mannered; but granting him to be thus far immeasurably inferior to these masters, it must still be remembered that in his own peculiar sphere he attained such greatness and freedom, that no position short of the highest can be assigned to him. He completed what was deficient, even in that redundantly rich period of art, by venturing to depict, as it were, the very pulses of life in every variety of emotion and excitement, till, in the luxuriance of his ardent representations, the beauties and the faults, the high poetry and the low earthliness of his productions are indissolubly united.

Of the early works of Correggio few can be named with precision, except the large altar-piece, now in the Dresden Gallery, which he painted about 1512 for the Franciscan convent at Carpi: it represents a Madonna enthroned; on the left are St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua; on the right, St. John the Baptist and St. Catherine. There is more repose and simplicity in this picture than in his later works: in the heads, particularly that of St. John, there are reminiscences, not to be mistaken, of the forms peculiar to Leonardo and his school. At the same time a certain constraint is apparent, especially in the expressions; while the execution is remarkable for great softness and a peculiar fusion of the tints, which afford sufficient evidence that considerable but now unknown works had been done at a still earlier period. As an example of these we may mention a picture with the figures of four saints—St. Peter, St. Mar-

[1] There is an excellent and characteristic account of Correggio by Herr v. Quandt, in his translation of Lanzi's History of Painting in Italy, ii. 319, note 36.

MADONNA ADORING THE CHILD: by Correggio.

In the Uffizj at Florence

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garet, the Magdalen, and St. Anthony of Padua—as large as life, now in the collection of Lord Ashburton at London,[1] which in severity of composition, in depth of colour, and in style of expression, much corresponds with the above-mentioned picture. At all events it is evident that in earliness of excellence Correggio surpassed even Raphael himself, who, in his twentieth year, appears much the most constrained in manner.

Two pictures in the tribune of the Uffizj at Florence are of little importance, except as proofs of a somewhat advanced development: one is a Riposo (the Holy Family resting during the flight into Egypt), in which Joseph breaks off a palm-branch for the infant Christ, while St. Francis kneels on one side in adoration; the other is a Madonna adoring the divine Infant. In the last-named picture both gesture and expression are anything but noble, but the true poetry of light and chiaroscuro is developed with the highest skill. To this time belongs also a large Crucifixion at Parma, which, though not a very grand composition, indicates, in some of the expressions, the peculiar tendency of the artist: the beautiful figure of Christ, and the head of the Madonna, who sinks down fainting, are touching representations of sorrow.

About the year 1518, Correggio was invited to Parma to paint a saloon in the convent of S. Paolo,[2] for the abbess. The subjects from ancient mythology, which he executed here, are among his most beautiful works: on the principal wall is Diana returning from the Chase, in a car drawn by white stags; the light drapery of the goddess conceals but little of her perfect and youthful form. On the ceiling is painted a vine-arbour, with sixteen oval openings, in which are charming groups of genii, some with the attributes of the chase—horns, hounds, the head of a stag, &c.; some caress each other; some pluck fruits from the borders of the arbour. It is impossible to conceive more graceful, attractive gaiety than in the figures of these genii. Underneath are sixteen lunettes in chiaroscuro, filled also with mythical sub-

[1] See Waagen's England, vol. ii. p. 80.

[2] Pitture di Ant. Allegri detto il Correggio esistenti in Parma nel monistero di S. Paolo. Parma, 1800. [Recently engraved in an admirable manner by Toschi.—Ed.]

jects—the Graces, Fortune, the Fates, Satyrs, &c. The choice of these subjects for a convent appears strange; but in the beginning of the sixteenth century the nuns of Italy enjoyed the greatest freedom, without being shut up, while the abbess lived in princely splendour and luxury. In 1524, however, the nuns of S. Paolo were again forced to keep within their convent, and these works of Correggio were withdrawn from the eyes of the public till modern times.

In the year 1520 the painting of the cupola of S. Giovanni in Parma was entrusted to Correggio, and afforded an opportunity for the formation of a grander style. In the centre of the cupola he represented Christ in glory, suspended in air; the twelve Apostles, wrapt in adoring wonder, are seated on the clouds below; in the four pendentives are the four Evangelists and the four Fathers of the Church. This work exhibits great grandeur in the general arrangement and in detail; it is, moreover, the first remarkable display of foreshortened figures. The tribune behind the altar was also painted by him; this part, however, was pulled down in 1584, to enlarge the church: but the most essential part of the composition, a Coronation of the Virgin, with saints and other figures, is known to us from copies by Annibal Caracci now in the Museum of Naples; some fragments of the original also exist.[1] These works were finished by Correggio in 1524.

The peculiar style of Correggio was carried to perfection in the large frescoes in the cupola of the Duomo at Parma, executed between the years 1526 and 1530; the subject is the Assumption of the Virgin.[2] In the highest part of the cupola, on which the strongest light falls, Christ, a violently foreshortened figure, precipitates himself to meet the Madonna; lower down are several saints, male and female; these are also wonderfully foreshortened; still lower appears the principal group—the Virgin borne by angels in triumph. All

[1] [Correggio's design was repainted in the new Tribune of S. Giovanni by Cesare Aretusi, probably from A. Carracci's copies. The principal group of the original is preserved in the Library at Parma.—Ed.]

[2] Engraved in a series of plates by G. B. Vanni, 1642. [The fine engravings by Toschi, now in the course of publication, will supersede all that has hitherto been copied in this way from Correggio.—Ed.]

this occupies but the upper half of the cupola. In the under part, between the oblong windows, stand the Apostles, some singly, some together, gazing on the ascending Madonna; over the windows are genii, some of whom bear lighted candelabra, others censers in their hands. In the four pendentives under the cupola are the four patron-saints of Parma, seated on clouds and accompanied by angels. The whole forms an innumerable host of saints, angels, &c., in full jubilee and pious joy; one tone of heavenly rapture is diffused over all, yet there is nothing wanting in the characteristic completion of the single parts. The effect is, however, almost too rich and boundless; all the figures are foreshortened, and as more limbs than bodies are visible from below, the artist, even in his lifetime, was jestingly told that he had painted a "hash of frogs" [guazzetto di rane].

Beside these great works, Correggio executed a number of easel-pictures, large and small, of which the following are the most important and best known.

One of his most beautiful and often-repeated small works is the Marriage of St. Catherine; it is one of the subjects in which the peculiar powers of the artist could unfold themselves in the happiest manner; the best example is in the gallery of the Louvre. The youthful saint (according to her vision) is betrothed to the divine Infant in presence of St. Sebastian and the Virgin, who carefully superintends the holy rite.[1] The scene is expressed with such tender grace that nothing more charming can be conceived: a sense of blissful life is diffused over the figures of the Virgin and St. Catherine, and the whole composition is united by the most wonderful harmony of colour. Not that Correggio here impresses on the spectator that high and edifying feeling which the purity and nobility of form, the depth of expression, and the poetry of composition of Leonardo and Raphael impart, but he touches us, though with an earthly pencil, by his glowing representations of the spiritual excitements of this life. Another small picture of this subject, somewhat dif-

[1] [This subject was comparatively late; St. Catherine of Siena died in the fourteenth century, and was not canonized till 1461. The painters appear to have improved on the legend. See the Acta Sanctorum, April 30.—Ed.]

ferently arranged, is in the Studj Gallery at Naples: here the Child, astonished at the strange ceremony, is looking up laughing at the Virgin. Other repetitions (some of them probably old copies) are at Petersburgh, in the gallery of the Capitol at Rome, and in other places.

An equally beautiful composition is the Virgin resting with the Child during the Flight into Egypt, called La Zingarella (the Gipsy), from the turban the Madonna wears round her head. The best repetition of this subject is at Naples. Here the Madonna is of the highest beauty and intensity of expression. Above her, in obscurity, are hovering charming figures of angels. Some repetitions and copies are in the same city.

Other important paintings are in the Gallery of Parma; among these may be mentioned the fresco of a Madonna and Child, taken from S. Maria della Scala, executed at the same time as the cupola of S. Giovanni: the Madonna holds the Child in her lap, regarding him with fervent tenderness; his arms are clasped round her neck; he looks toward the spectator: majesty and gentle grace, sublimity and tenderness, are most intimately blended in this picture.—The Madonna della Scodella, a Holy Family resting on the Flight into Egypt: the picture takes its name from the cup which the Virgin holds in her hand; Joseph plucks dates from the tree. The composition resembles the first-mentioned picture in Florence, but is more highly finished and beautiful.—The St. Jerome (or "The Day") is one of Correggio's most celebrated pictures. The Madonna with the Child are near the centre; on the left is St. Jerome; an angel next him points out to the infant a part of the open book held by the saint; on the right kneels Mary Magdalen; she kisses the foot of the Child; an angel is near her. The pure light of day is diffused over the picture; the figures seem surrounded, as it were, by a radiant atmosphere. The angel next to St. Jerome is extremely beautiful; other portions are, however, not quite free from affectation.—The Deposition from the Cross (the body of Christ mourned by the three Marys and St. John): the arrangement is simple and grand, and the harmony of light and colour most beautiful: grief is not here depicted in

its first overwhelming power, as in other pictures of this subject, but in that deep weariness and lassitude of spirit when tears have ceased to flow: here, as in other instances, one absorbing feeling prevails, and in this consists the highly impressive effect of the picture. The Martyrdom of S. Placido and S. Flavia is its companion, and, like it, is distinguished by its simple arrangement and fine expression.

In the Gallery at Dresden there is an excellent series of altar-pictures by Correggio.[1] The St. Francis has already been mentioned; the others belong to the period when the artist's power was best displayed. We begin with the St. Sebastian: the Madonna with the Child is enthroned on clouds, surrounded by a circle of infant angels; underneath are St. Sebastian, St. Geminianus, and St. Roch: the angels are extremely graceful. The St. Sebastian is perhaps the most beautiful of Correggio's figures.—The *Notte*, the Holy Night (the Adoration of the Shepherds), is celebrated for the striking effect of the light, which, in accordance with the old legend,[2] proceeds from the new-born babe: the radiant infant, and the mother who holds him, are lost in the splendour, which has guided the distant shepherds. A maiden on one side, and a beautiful youth on the other, who serve as a contrast to an old shepherd, receive the full light, which seems to dazzle their eyes; while angels, hovering above, appear in a softened radiance. A little further back Joseph is employed with his ass, and in the background are more shepherds with their flocks. Morning breaks in the horizon: an ethereal light flows through the whole picture, and leaves only so much of the outline and substance of the forms apparent as is necessary to enable the eye to distinguish the objects.[3]—The St. George: a Madonna enthroned, with open architecture; St. George and St. Peter Martyr, St. John the

[1] Compare Hirt, Kunstbemerkungen auf einer Reise nach Dresden, p. 45, etc.

[2] [See the apocryphal Evangelium Infantiæ.—Ed.]

[3] Smaller representations of this subject, with similar motives, and treated in like manner as the Dresden picture, exist in various places. An excellent little picture of the kind is in the Berlin Museum, No. 223, and is there ascribed to the School of Correggio. It is the same picture described in the Kunstblatt, 1838, No. 58.

Baptist and St. Geminianus at the sides; boy-angels play with the armour of St. George in the foreground. Throughout this picture, as in the St. Jerome at Parma, the clearest daylight is diffused. The details are less important—the angels, for example; they are perhaps unfinished, but the countenance of the Madonna is expressive of the sweetest and most gracious mildness; that of St. Peter Martyr is full of enthusiastic fervour and devotion. Besides the large pictures, the Dresden Gallery contains the universally-admired "Reading Magdalen," and an excellent portrait, said to be the physician of the artist.

A significant, but somewhat severe picture, perhaps of Correggio's earlier time, is in the Munich Gallery. The subject is the Madonna in glory appearing to the Donor in a form of the most finished grace. Below are the seated figures of St. James and St. Jerome in a state of the highest ecstasy. Such devotion as is here expressed does not partake of that beautiful and peaceful self-resignation which elevates the mind of the beholder, but is rather a violent representation of natural life, thrown by the higher emotions of the soul into a state of over agitation.

Some of the most beautiful of Correggio's pictures were formerly in Spain, but in consequence of the war with France, they have now made their way to London.[1] The most important of these are, Christ on the Mount of Olives, in the gallery of the Duke of Wellington. Here, as in the *Notte*, the light proceeds from the Saviour, who kneels at the left of the picture. Thus Christ and the angel above him appear in a bright light, while the sleeping disciples, and the soldiers who approach with Judas, are thrown into dark shadow; but it is the "clear obscure" of the coming dawn, and exquisite in colour. The expression of heavenly grief and resignation in the countenance of Christ is indescribably beautiful and touching; it is impossible to conceive an expression more deep and fervent.—The Ecce Homo, half-figures as large as life, now in the National Gallery at London; Christ crowned with Thorns, and being shown to the people. The expression

[1] See Passavant, Kunstreise durch England und Belgien; also Waagen, Kunstw. und Künstler in England.

and attitude of Christ are extremely grand; even the deepest grief does not disfigure his features. The manner in which he holds forward his hands, which are tied together, is in itself sufficient to express the depth of suffering. On the left is a Roman soldier, of rude but not otherwise than noble aspect, and evidently touched by pity: on the right, Pilate looking with indifference over a parapet. The Virgin, in front, is fainting, overpowered by her grief, in the arms of the Magdalen: her head is of the highest beauty. The drawing in this picture is more severe than is usual with Correggio. The Holy Family, called La Vierge au Panier, is another small picture in the National Gallery: the Madonna sits in a landscape; the infant Christ, on her knee, looks up with an expression of joy; in the background Joseph is seen working as a carpenter: a beautiful and delicately executed little picture, full of fresh and joyful emotion, only somewhat mannered in the expression of the Madonna. The Education of Cupid, in the National Gallery also, we shall mention further on. In the Stafford House Gallery there is a picture by Correggio of a totally different character to the foregoing; the subject is a horse and mule, both laden, with their drivers, in a glowing landscape, executed in a masterly manner: it is said to have been painted as a sign for an inn where Correggio had no other means of discharging his reckoning.

Among the pictures still in Spain, Christ in the Garden with the Magdalen is one of the most excellent: it is in the Madrid Gallery.[1]

These works belong to the department of religious painting: another series represents scenes of ancient mythology; here the softness of female forms and the joys of earth are displayed with unrivalled skill. Among the first in this class are two pictures in the Berlin Museum: Leda with the Swan, sitting on the bank of a shady lake; on the left, *amorini* play on musical instruments; on the right, maidens bathe:—

[1] The "Christ enthroned upon a rainbow, with angels around," which, in the Gallery of the Vatican, bears the name of Correggio, is too dead in colouring, and too destitute of the finer feeling for life in detail, to be considered an original picture.

and Io embraced by Jupiter, veiled in a cloud. In these, as in the sacred subjects, every feeling is resolved into one pervading idea. It is the triumph of earthly love, indeed, which is celebrated in these pictures, but it is the joy of a nobler, freer race of beings, unacquainted with vice or falsehood. Both these pictures, as well as the Danae (to which we shall presently come), were formerly in the collection of Queen Christina of Sweden; at a later period they passed into the celebrated Orleans gallery in Paris. The son of the Duke of Orleans, shocked at the voluptuous expression in the head of Io, had it cut out and burned! Another was afterwards substituted. Both pictures were bought by Frederick II. for his gallery at Sans Souci. When taken again to Paris, under Napoleon, the present excellent head of Io was painted by Prudhon.[1] An excellent repetition of the Io, universally considered genuine, is in the Gallery of Vienna.—The Danae is in the Borghese Gallery in Rome: she lies half raised on a splendid couch; Love, a beautiful youth, sits beside her and catches the golden rain-drops in her drapery. In front of her couch, two *amorini* are employed with graceful *naïveté* in sharpening an arrow.[2] The form of Danae is modelled with exquisite softness, but the countenance has a less engaging expression.—Jupiter and Antiope, in the Paris Museum: Antiope sleeps in a gracefully fascinating attitude; Love sleeps near her; Jupiter steals upon them in the form of a beautiful young faun. In the melting softness of the execution this picture is perhaps the most perfect that Correggio ever finished, though somewhat too full in the forms.—The Education of Cupid by Venus and Mercury, in the National Gallery in London: Venus is here standing erect, her noble and beautiful form fully developed; while Cupid, a lovely, artless-looking child, is intently deciphering a scroll, which Mercury, seated on the ground, is holding to him.—Ganymede borne through the air by the Eagle, in the Gallery of Vienna, is also distinguished by a beautiful child-like grace.

Correggio had various scholars and followers, who endea-

[1] The head of the Leda also is new.

[2] [One is trying the gold on a touch-stone. See Mengs's description of the picture, Opere, ii. 148.—Ed.]

voured, with more or less success, to acquire his style; among them are the following:—his son, Pomponio Allegri, distinguished by his somewhat simple drawing; Francesco Maria Rondani, censured for superfluous and trifling accessories; Michael Angelo Anselmi, already mentioned among the scholars of Razzi (a very mannered Madonna with saints, by him, is in the Louvre); Bernardino Gatti, distinguished for peculiar sweetness of colouring; Giorgio Gandini; Lelio Orsi, of Novellara; the last is considered as the best imitator of Correggio.

A much higher reputation was gained by Francesco Mazzuoli (1503–1540), surnamed "Il Parmigianino,"[1] son of Filippo Mazzuoli (already mentioned among the earlier masters as a clever painter of Parma); but his reputation dates from a period when the feeling for true artless beauty was nearly extinct. The dangerous tendency of Correggio's style has been already pointed out—a danger which even he has not always escaped: but in Parmigianino action and feeling almost always degenerate into insufferable affectation and insipid coquetry. He is the more displeasing from endeavouring to unite with these peculiarities the noble forms of the Roman school, and the unnaturally lengthened proportions of his own figures. In spite of this, however, certain indestructible beauties belonging to the master under whom he studied may be perceived clinging to him, such as a frequently clear and warm tone of colour, a great decision in execution, and, when the subject admitted of it, an excellent conception of life. That which, at the period we are describing, misled the descendants of the great masters, was, as we shall have reason to observe, rather a false influence working upon them from without, than any absence of real capacity, so that in certain departments of art where this outward influence did not come into operation, their success was of the highest kind. This was the case with Parmigianino, as with many others, in portraits. A splendid portrait of a knight, said to be Columbus, and another said to be Parmigianino's mistress, are in the Museum at Naples; others

[1] P. J. Affò, Vita del pittore Francesco Mazzolo, detto il Parmigianino, Parma, 1784. Outlines in Landon, Vies et Œuvres, etc.; t. Parmigianino.

are in various places. Here and there also we find a more simple Holy Family. Among his most celebrated yet most disagreeable pictures is the so-called Madonna with the "long neck," in the Pitti palace in Florence, and a St. Margaret (a Madonna with saints, with St. Margaret kneeling in front) in the Gallery at Bologna. On the other hand, a large altar-piece in the National Gallery at London, the Madonna in clouds and John the Baptist appearing to St. Jerome, is an excellent youthful work of the master. The beautiful head of the infant Christ is not unworthy even of Correggio. It is said that, engrossed in the completion of this picture in 1527, Parmigianino took no note of the siege of Rome then going on, and that the soldiers, intent on pillage, who surprised him at his work, were so overawed with admiration that they protected him against their comrades. Important frescoes by Parmigianino are in the churches of S. Giovanni and Della Steccata in Parma; his cousin, Girolamo di Micchele Mazzuoli, was one of his scholars, and was, if possible, more mannered than Parmigianino himself. A most unpleasing Madonna, with St. Catherine and St. Paul, by this master, is in the Berlin Museum.

CHAPTER VIII.

SCHOOLS OF VENICE.

We now approach the last prominent group of great painters, who, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, opened up a distinct mine of peculiar excellence in Italian Art—namely, the Venetians. We find in them, as in Correggio, a remarkable technical pre-eminence. The Roman school was distinguished by beauty of form; Correggio, by chiaroscuro; the Venetians of this period, like their predecessors who have already occupied our attention, were great in colour; it is chiefly this quality which gives the stamp of perfection to their productions: with admirable mastery they give the warmth of life to the colour of flesh, imitate the splendour and brilliancy of different materials, and, if we may venture

MOSES: painted by Parmigianino, in the Steccata at Parma.

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to say so, relieve light on light;[1] but this technical skill is in them the expression of a characteristic and elevated conception; it is the enjoyment of life and of its splendour which speaks in all the nobler productions of this school. And although this general aim would appear to restrict imitation to familiar objects and circumstances, yet they knew how to penetrate life in all its aspects and in all its depths; and, on the other hand, to treat the grandest themes. For the rest, it is to be remarked that the Venetians, on the whole, painted very little in fresco, but chiefly in oil, in which method they executed pictures of the largest dimensions. The reason is evident, as the nature of oil-painting is much more favourable to their peculiar object than the severer methods of fresco.

A great number of Venetian artists were active in this general style, with more or less originality; two, however, stand at the head of the list—Giorgione and Titian, both scholars of Giovanni Bellini.

Giorgio Barbarelli of Castelfranco, commonly called "Giorgione" (born 1477, died 1511), was the first Venetian who cast aside the antiquated constraint of the Bellini school, treated art with freedom, and handled his colours in a bold, decided manner: his paintings generally have a luminous power and subdued internal glow, the sternness of which forms a singular contrast to the repose which prevails without;

[1] The expression used above is no hyperbole: it describes, in point of fact, the mode of laying on the colours peculiar to the masters of the Venetian school, which was the result of a close observation of the effect of colour and light upon the eye itself. "Every part of a healthy human form, on which the light of the sun directly falls, is of that glowing reddish yellowish colour which most delights the eye, and which it most eagerly seeks in a picture. Thus it is that the portions thus lighted, and thus coloured, are also the most conspicuous. Other parts which, lying obliquely, do not receive the rays of the sun upon them, are lighted by the reflection from other objects at a greater or lesser distance from them, or by the light with which the atmosphere itself is pervaded. These reflections cast upon the object on which they fall something of the colour of the objects from which they are derived. Being therefore of a bluish tint when derived merely from the open air, they impart this same bluish tint to the object they light, and when this happens to be the tender surface of the human body, itself of a reddish yellow colour, a light greyish green tint results. This colour, being duller, is less conspicuous to the eye, and thus the portions thus lighted recede apparently from sight, and take the effect of half shadows, though really almost as light as the lightest parts." (See Von Quandt's translation of Lanzi's History of Painting in Italy, vol. ii. p. 146.)

they may be said to represent an elevated race of beings, capable of the noblest and grandest efforts: this is more especially observable in Giorgione's portraits and characteristic ideal heads. Some of his most beautiful portraits are in the Manfrini Gallery in Venice: one, for example, representing a lady with a lute;[1] and a second, in which a Venetian cavalier turns to a lady; on the other side is a beautiful page.[2] Giorgione's own portrait, in the Munich Gallery, is also excellent; it is full of impassioned feeling, with a peculiar melancholy in the dark glowing eyes. Ideal heads, such as Saul and David, in the Borghese Gallery in Rome; David with the head of Goliath, in the Imperial Gallery of Vienna, &c., are frequently to be met with.[3] It is difficult, indeed, sometimes to decide whether Giorgione meant to represent a real portrait, or an ideal head, or a genre subject, so well did he understand to give his figures that which especially appealed to the comprehension and sympathies of his spectators. We see this in his "Concert," in the Pitti palace, representing two priests playing the piano and the violoncello, with a youth—in his Maestro di Cappella giving a music-lesson, in the National Gallery at London[4]—in his picture of a warrior, with another figure, in the gallery of the Uffizj, Florence—in the picture of a beautiful girl laying her hand upon her lover's shoulder, in Lord Ashburton's collection in London—in the Daughter of Herodias with the head of John the Baptist, in the Louvre (another repetition of the subject is in the collection at Stratton)—in two exquisite female heads at Castle Howard, and in many others. In the portrait of Gaston de Foix, now in the Louvre, Giorgione contrived to show the figure on all sides by the introduction of several mirrors, a joking allusion to the dispute then going on regarding the arts of painting and sculpture.

[1] [The picture, fine as it is, has not the extreme glow of colour for which Giorgione was celebrated; this quality, however, is very remarkable in the specimen next mentioned.—Ed.]

[2] [Here is also an interesting small picture, of very rich and blended execution, in which Giorgione has treated a family group—possibly his own—in his peculiarly romantic and suggestive manner.—P.]

[3] [Several pictures of the kind, that bear the name of Giorgione in galleries, are by his comparatively modern imitator Pietro Vecchia.—Ed.]

[4] [Commonly attributed to Titian and described as his in Vanderdoort's Catalogue of the Pictures of Charles I.—Ed.]

Of Giorgione's devotional pictures the largest and best is in Mr. Solly's collection in London: it represents the Virgin enthroned, under a canopy, in a landscape; at her side four saints, each standing separate, as in the old manner, and three angels playing on musical instruments below. In character and expression of this picture we see that grand, melancholy seriousness which is sometimes peculiar to Giorgione; the treatment is broad and full, the colouring deep and glowing. A Holy Family with St. Sebastian and St. Catherine, with a highly poetical landscape, in the Louvre, is also excellent, but somewhat hard in the outlines. In a Madonna picture in the Leuchtenberg Gallery formerly at Munich (she is seated with the Child under a laurel-tree), a more glowing life appears, though tempered with a certain severity.

Giorgione's works are, on the whole, rare, and the frescoes which he painted in Venice have disappeared. His historical pictures are the rarest of all. To these belong the Death of St. Peter Martyr, in the National Gallery in London, an unimportant picture, and one scarcely to be considered genuine; also a picture in the Dresden Gallery of a graceful, pastoral character—Jacob greeting Rachel. An Adoration of the Shepherds, in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, resembles the last-mentioned picture in treatment. In this class also may be included a picture of large dimensions, removed from the school of St. Mark to the Venetian Academy. The subject is a sea-storm raised by demons, and which threatened destruction to Venice (1340), till its fury was assuaged by means of three saints: the picture represents a wildly agitated sea, and a ship driving before the tempest filled with figures of demons in the form of satyrs; St. Mark, St. Nicholas, and St. George embark in a small boat to oppose them. The demons, astonished, precipitate themselves into the sea to avoid them; some sit in the cordage of the vessel, others on the caps of the masts, which contain fire, the fumes from which spread over the sky and sea. In front is a bark with four naked satyr-like figures—glowingly coloured splendid forms, particularly the two sitting rowers, which are painted in a free and most masterly style. Fabulous sea-monsters emerge from the waves; on one rides a horned satyr; on

the shore, in the distance, is a city; on the left, several spectators.

The conception of this picture is very singular, and in many of Giorgione's other works we find a peculiar poetic manner of treating his subject, which sometimes displays itself in allegorical allusions (not always easily understood), at others, in scenes which bear a close relation to what is called the "romantic *genre*." The allegorical pictures bear the stamp of his earlier period, and of the Bellini style. One of the earliest works, apparently, of this class, the so-called "Astrologer," is in the Manfrini Gallery at Venice. The old man, clothed in fantastic garments, is seated at a marble table in front of a ruined building, in one niche of which is a broken statue of Venus. Compass and brass disc are in his hand. On the left is a young man in armour, and a female figure seated on the ground playing with a naked child, who is lying before her: further in the landscape are warriors resting under a tree.[1] A very attractive picture, of more romantic meaning but of less powerful making out, is in the Louvre. The scene is a landscape, in which are two young men and two women with musical instruments; one of the women is drawing water from a spring. This picture has also the same character of glowing life and refined voluptuousness.[2] [3] Another mythological picture—a Nymph pursued by a Satyr, half length figures, in the Pitti palace, is ascribed to Giorgione.

A picture in the Brera in Milan, very deserving of notice, is perhaps one of Giorgione's most beautiful works:[4] it is his-

[1] V. Quandt, in his translation of Lanzi, ii. 66, *note*, recognizes in this picture also a scene from a novel.

[2] See Waagen's Paris, p. 461, where he ascribes this picture to Palma Vecchio. The Kunstblatt of 1846, No. 2, also imputes to Giorgione nine beautiful female heads representing the Muses, which were in the Barbarigo palace at Venice; now in Russia.

[3] [Severe in colouring and of melancholy tenderness in sentiment, the "Astrologer" can hardly with justice be characterized by these epithets.—P.]

[4] [At Milan this most charming work is now ascribed to Bonifazio; to whose Scriptural scenes in the Borghese Gallery it bears decided resemblance. The author's rather harsh estimate of this wonderful colourist (p. 453), may, if this decision be correct, receive modification from the just honour here paid to the "Finding of Moses:"—the most luxurious and delightful among the many treasures of the Brera.—P.]

THE ENTOMBMENT:

By Giorgione, in the Monte di Pietà at Treviso. page 435.

torical in subject, but romantic in conception. The subject is the Finding of Moses: all the figures are in the rich Venetian costume of Giorgione's time. In the centre the princess sits under a tree, and looks with surprise at the child, who is brought to her by a servant. The seneschal of the princess, with knights and ladies, stand around. On one side two lovers are seated on the grass; on the other are musicians and singers, pages with dogs, a dwarf with an ape, &c. It is a picture in which the highest earthly splendour and enjoyment are brought together, and the incident from Scripture only gives it a more pleasing interest. The costume, however inappropriate to the story, disturbs the effect as little as in other Venetian pictures of the same period, since it refers more to a poetic than to mere historic truth, and the period itself was rich in poetry; its costume, too, assisted the display of a romantic splendour. This picture, with all its glow of colour, is softer in the execution than earlier works of the master, and reminds us of Titian, the more successful rival of Giorgione—not, like him, to be cut off by death in the very midst of his greatest efforts.[1] A similar small picture, in the form of a frieze, is in the Pitti palace. Several small Biblical subjects, probably of his early time, and not without many harsh features, are in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence—a Judgment of Solomon—an Adoration of the Shepherds, &c. One of these pictures is particularly remarkable for the manner in which Giorgione has converted the "Santa Conversazione" into a romantic scene. It represents a terrace overlooking the steep shores of a mountainous lake: the Virgin is seated upon a throne, with several saints; St. Paul and St. Catherine are walking together conversing; St. Sebastian is not bound; St. Peter is leaning thoughtfully against a balustrade, and little genii are playing on the ground. The landscape here, as in most pictures by the master, is of great clearness and warmth of colouring. In this respect he excelled most of the other Venetians.

Of Giorgione's scholars the most important was Fra Se-

[1] [Among the undoubted works of Giorgione may be mentioned the once celebrated Entombment of Christ in the Monte di Pietà at Treviso; it is now nearly effaced in parts. The composition is shown in the annexed woodcut. —Ed.]

bastian del Piombo (1485–1547), already mentioned with Michael Angelo, p. 311. Of his Venetian time, to his twenty-sixth year, we know one only principal picture—an altar-piece in S. Giovanni Chrisostomo at Venice, which is not far removed from the fulness and richness of Titian; and this gives us some idea of what the personal influence of Michael Angelo must have been which could subsequently compel a Venetian painter of this excellence to adopt a line of art so totally opposed to his original tendency. The picture represents the mild and dignified St. Chrysostom seated reading aloud at a desk in an open hall; St. John the Baptist, leaning on his cross, is looking affectionately and attentively at him; behind him are two male saints, and on the left two female saints, listening devoutly; quite in front is the Magdalen, looking majestically out of the picture at the spectator, a splendid type of the full and grand Venetian ideal of female beauty at that time. The true expression of a Santa Conversazione cannot be more worthily given than in the relation in which the hearers stand to the principal figure. In glow of colour also this work is not inferior to the best of Giorgione's. A Madonna enthroned, with six saints, in S. Niccolo, is also a youthful work of the master. Sebastian del Piombo is particularly eminent in his portraits; a very beautiful one of Cardinal Pole, in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, is now ascribed to him, though formerly attributed to Raphael. The picture also in the Louvre, which goes by the name of "Raphael and his Fencing-master," we have already mentioned as the probable work of Sebastian del Piombo. In Rome he entered into a close intimacy with Michael Angelo, painted much from his cartoons, and departing, even in his independent works, from the Venetian manner, adopted much of Michael Angelo's mode of composition. In this way was produced the celebrated picture of the Raising of Lazarus, in the National Gallery at London, painted in rivalry of Raphael's Transfiguration, Michael Angelo supplying parts of the drawing, namely, the group of Lazarus and those busied around him.[1] It is a copious composition, not very

[1] According to Waagen, England, vol. i. p. 185, Michael Angelo designed the whole composition.

remarkable for general keeping, but with great beauty in parts. In the figure of Lazarus, who is gazing upwards at Christ, while at the same time he endeavours to disengage himself from the bandages, the expression of returning life is wonderfully given. The Christ himself, a noble form, is pointing with his right hand to heaven, while the miracle just performed is told in the grandest way in the various expressions of the bystanders. The execution is of the greatest solidity, and the colouring still deep, and full. An excellent Holy Family, in the Stratton collection, is of the same time.[1] One of the noblest works of Sebastian's earlier Roman period is a Dead Christ, supported by Joseph of Arimathea, with a weeping Magdalen: it is painted on slate, and is now in the Berlin Museum. The figures are half-length and colossal; the body of Christ is of the finest character. In the Pitti palace in Florence is a Martyrdom of St. Agatha, which, in the same manner, combines the composition of Michael Angelo with a trace of Venetian colouring, but which, besides the unpleasantness of the subject, is unattractive to the spectator by the obvious sacrifice of all freshness of life for a style of art which, after all, Sebastian never entirely acquired. It is true that his later works combine considerable merit of colour with a grand style of form, but we remark a certain carelessness as regards details, especially in the draperies; the habit also of designing on a colossal scale is often applied where it is not suitable—as, for instance, in portraits. The frescoes in S. Pietro in Montorio at Rome (the first chapel on the right), executed from drawings by Michael Angelo, are of his better time. The Scourging of Christ, in point of dignity and animation of composition, as well as in beauty of execution, appears to be the best. (An original repetition, on a small scale, is in the Borghese palace.) The paintings, on the other hand, in the Cappella Chigi, in S. Maria del Popolo, are later in date and of unpleasant effect. Among his later colossal portraits we may mention that of a cardinal

[1] [See Dr. Waagen's Kunstwerke in England, ii. 244. The fine altarpiece in S. Niccolo at Treviso is by Fra Marco Pensabene. Federici (Memorie Trevigiane) endeavours to show that Sebastian del Piombo may have been the painter; but the documents and other circumstances which he himself adduces disprove this.—Ed.]

(apparently Pope Alexander VI.), in the Studj Gallery at Naples, and a female portrait in the National Gallery at London. The excellent portrait of Andrea Doria, in the possession of Prince Doria at Rome, is unfortunately no longer to be seen.

Another scholar of Giorgione was Giovanni da Udine, who afterwards went to Rome and entered the school of Raphael, with which he has been already mentioned. He found in the numerous decorative subjects of the Loggie, &c., constant opportunity to display his Venetian dexterity.—Another scholar was the Veronese Francesco Torbido, surnamed "Il Moro:" his paintings are principally at Verona, and remind us a little of the earlier direction of the Veronese. In the Duomo of Verona he painted scenes from the life of the Virgin, after the cartoons of Giulio Romano. An immediate scholar of Giovanni Bellini who also adopted much of Giorgione's manner may be here mentioned, Sebastiano Florigerio of Udine. Two Madonnas with saints, in the Academy at Venice, are by him; they are of antique arrangement, and of fine fulness of forms, but of a pale, cold colouring.

The influence of Giorgione was felt, however, beyond his own school, which was not considerable, and by his example several other artists were induced to adopt the new freer style of painting. Of these, Jacopo Palma (Vecchio) followed originally the style of Bellini, but at a later period adopted that of the masters of the sixteenth century; these, and more particularly Giorgione, he successfully imitated. And though he never equalled the latter in thorough rendering of nature, yet he possesses a no less intense feeling for life, with a mild sweetness which often recalls Titian's enchanting forms. In his earlier works the heads have often an antiquated severity, which later gave way to a mild repose, while the severe, emphatic power of Giorgione remained ever foreign to him. A St. Peter, surrounded by saints, a picture of his earlier times, but fine and dignified, is in the Academy at Venice. A large altar-piece in S. Zaccaria—the Madonna with six saints, and an angel of great beauty playing on the violoncello—belongs to his earlier works. Next in succession may be mentioned an attractive Assumption of the Virgin, which

belongs to his transition period. His principal work, however, is an altar-piece in seven divisions—St. Barbara with the palm-branch being in the centre—a figure of such devotion and grandeur of repose as Venetian art has seldom produced. The miracle performed on the son of the widow of Nain, in the Academy, is also of the best time of the master: the mother and son, and the eager, agitated disciples, are excellent in expression: the Christ, however, is inferior, although approaching the type of Giovanni Bellini: the colour is of the greatest glow and beauty. His Holy Families, with saints, half-length figures, are frequent; one of the best of these is in the Manfrini palace. Nor are Palma's works very rare out of Venice: a Madonna with saints of great beauty is in the Borghese palace at Rome; another in the Colonna palace; a large and very fine one in the gallery at Turin. Excellent pictures of his later time are in the Imperial collection at Vienna. A Madonna with saints is in the gallery at Stuttgardt. A beautiful Holy Family, with a young shepherd adoring the Child, is in the Louvre.

Rocco Marconi, a somewhat older painter than Palma Vecchio, formed his style in a similar manner. Some very pleasing pictures of his are to be seen in Venice. His colouring has a transparency and glow which is rare even in the pictures of Giorgione; at the same time he often degenerates into gaudiness, and is unimportant in arrangement and expression. An altar-piece in S. Giovanni e Paolo—Christ between two Saints—still inclines to the old manner. Two representations of the Woman taken in Adultery, in the Academy and in the Manfrini palace, are overfilled with figures and weak in expression. A Christ also between two Apostles, in the Academy, is only valuable for its colouring; while, on the other hand, the painter has developed all his powers, with a fulness of the finest and most touching expression, in a great Descent from the Cross, in the same gallery.

Reminiscences of the earlier manner of the school, of excellent execution, though without the Venetian glow of colour, are apparent in the works of some other masters; for example, Lorenzo Luzzo da Feltre and Giovanni Paolo

l' Olmo, by whom there are two good pictures in the Berlin Museum.

In this list may be included another artist, Lorenzo Lotto, who, originally a scholar of Bellini, endeavoured to imitate Giorgione, but afterwards became known as a follower of Leonardo da Vinci. These different influences appear in different pictures of the artist. Thus, one in the Museum at Naples, inscribed with his name, is in the style of the Bellini school; another in the Pitti palace inclines to the Milanese, and others to the later Venetian manner. Several pictures in Venice are examples of this last style; for instance, a St. Augustine with two angels and other figures, in S. Giovanni e Paolo. The Solly collection in London contained also an excellent picture representing the painter with his family. His works in his native city (Bergamo) are less important. The credit of having painted the beautiful picture of the Death of S. Pietro Martire, in the church of Alzano, near Bergamo, has been lately denied him.[1]

Giorgione's influence extended even to his contemporary and successful rival, Tiziano Vecellio, whose genius, however, was soon developed in all its originality.[2] Titian was born at Cadore, on the borders of Friuli, about the year 1477, and at first received a learned education. He lived in habits of intimacy with the philosophers and poets of his time—with Ariosto at Ferrara, Pietro Aretino at Venice, &c. Princes and nobles honoured him as the first of portrait-painters. Pope Paul III. invited him to Rome; but it was the Emperor Charles V. who most frequently employed him, and whom he was obliged to attend twice at Augsburg. It is very doubtful if he ever visited Spain. He died of the plague in the year 1576, in his 99th year.

[1] Rumohr, Drei Reisen, etc., p. 320.

[2] Breve compendio della Vita del famoso Tiziano Vecellio di Cadore, cav. e pitt., con l' arbore della sua vera consanguineità. Venezia, 1622. New edition: Vita dell' insigne pitt. Tizian Vecellio già scritta da anonimo autore, riprod. con lettere di Tiziano per cura dell' Ab. Franc. Accordini. Venezia, 1809.—Stefano Ticozzi, Vite de' pittori Vecellj di Cadore. Milano, 1817.—Northcote, The Life of Titian. London, 1830.—Outlines in Landon, Vies et Œuvres, etc., t. Titian. [Notices of the Life and Works of Titian, by Sir Abraham Hume. London, 1829. Dello amore ai Veneziani di Tiziano Vecellio, &c., Notizie dell' Ab. Giuseppe Cadorin, Venezia, 1833.—Ed.]

In the multifariousness of his powers Titian takes precedence of all other painters of his school; indeed, there is scarcely a line of art which, in his long and very active life, he did not enrich. But, as we have already remarked, those tendencies which influenced art and life in Venice were materially different from those which governed the Florentine-Roman school. Titian's greatness, therefore, is not to be found in the same department with that of Michael Angelo and Raphael. Large symbolical compositions, full of meaning allusions, the arrangement of which in itself represented a high moral fact, were not his object; he aimed neither at strictness of expression, nor at forcible development of form, nor even, directly, at ideal beauty, though all these qualities were within his grasp: nevertheless, those excellences which, from his first to his last picture, he sought to attain and often did attain in the highest perfection, were not less high and infinite in nature than those of the other great masters. The austere and glowing force of Giorgione resolves itself in Titian into a free, open, and serene beauty—a pleasing and noble idea of nature. All that has been said of the Venetian tendency applies with peculiar force to Titian. The beings he creates seem to have the high consciousness and enjoyment of existence; the bliss of satisfaction, so like yet so different from the marble idealizations of Grecian antiquity—the air of an harmonious, unruffled existence seems to characterise them all. Hence they produce so grateful an impression on the mind of the spectator; hence they impart so refined and exalted a feeling, although generally but a transcript of familiar and well-known objects—representations of beautiful forms, without reference to spiritual or unearthly conceptions. It is life in its fullest power—the glorification of earthly existence, the liberation of art from the bonds of ecclesiastical dogmas.[1]

That which distinguishes Titian from Correggio, with whom in other respects he stood in obvious congeniality, is the totally

[1] [The elevated style of Titian's colour, which may be said to be on a level with the generalized forms of the antique, perhaps harmonises best with subjects of beauty; but when united with the simplicity of composition and sedateness of expression for which he is remarkable, it often confers a character of grandeur even on religious subjects.—ED.]

different aim which actuated each. Correggio seeks animation and excitement, Titian reposes in quiet dignity. Correggio appears to call his figures into life only to make them the organs of particular emotions: Titian gives them, first and foremost, the grandeur of mere conscious existence; Correggio, in the warmth of his passion, has hardly patience to proceed to the development of fine forms, and therefore carries with him a modern air: Titian always builds on the unmoveable foundation of necessary and general beauty; finally, Correggio's chiaroscuro is something conditional and accidental—a phenomenon on the surface of objects: Titian's colouring is the expression of life itself.

In his early works Titian appears as a follower of the style of Bellini, but he treats it from the first with a peculiar power of his own. An Adoration of the Kings, in the Manfrini palace in Venice, is certainly one of his earliest works: it is a small picture, copious in composition, with many defects in drawing, but with an extensive and clever landscape. A Madonna with Angels in the gallery of the Uffizj in Florence, and a pleasing little Madonna in the Sciarra palace in Rome, evince a further development. To this period also belong a beautiful and simple picture in the Venetian Academy, representing the Visit of Mary to Elizabeth; and a very graceful Madonna and Child in the gallery of Vienna. Also the strictly naturalistic "Vierge au lapin," and a very noble Madonna with three Saints, in a landscape, in the Louvre, belong to this class.[1]

The most finished and beautiful of Titian's early works, or rather one of his most beautiful of any period, is Christ with the Tribute Money (Cristo della Moneta), painted for the Duke of Ferrara, and now in Dresden. In the head of Christ

[1] [More important than any above noticed is the "Resurrection,"—a work in five compartments—above the high altar of S. Nazzaro in Brescia. Painted in 1522, it bears decided reminiscences of Giorgione's manner in firm handling and subdued glow. The noble twilight landscape of the principal division is more satisfactory than the figure; but the S. Sebastian—a youth whose features are shaded by long dark hair—and the Donor (one of the truly noble Averoldo family) accompanied by S. George, are in Titian's severest style. The Annunciation—divided between the two remaining compartments—unites equal severity and vigour with grace and beauty of line not always so happily attained by the great colourist.—P.]

everything combines to produce the noblest effect—the union of the flesh tints, the delicate handling of the beard and hair, the graceful lip, the liquid lustre of the eye, the mildness of the reproving glance. The contrast of the crafty Pharisee is admirable.

Of Titian's more developed period the following are the most important and celebrated :—and first of the Sacred class. One of the most excellent is the great Assumption of the Virgin, removed to the Academy of Venice from the Church of Santa Maria Gloriosa de' Frari. The Madonna is a powerful figure, borne rapidly upwards as if divinely impelled. Head, figure, attitude, drapery, and colour are all beautiful. Fascinating groups of infant angels surround her: beneath stand the Apostles, looking up with solemn gestures. The expression of these figures is not, however, quite free from constraint. There is another Assumption, but not so important, in the Duomo of Verona. The way in which the single figure of the Virgin is borne up on the clouds without any attendant angels is here very beautiful.

But of all the pictures of this kind, by far the most excellent is an Entombment of Christ, in the Manfrini palace in Venice. It is a highly finished masterwork, perhaps the most important of Titian's pictures, and the noblest representation of this subject. The arrangement of the figures who carry the body is excellent, but the chief interest lies in the general expression of sorrow. One of the bearers is at the head, another at the feet of Christ; John, who stands behind, holds up the arm. On the left is the Virgin, sinking back fainting; Mary Magdalen supports her, but without turning her eyes from the Saviour. In this picture the highest beauty of form and the most dignified expression in gesture are united with the liveliest emotion and the deepest and most earnest feeling. If ever a Venetian picture exercised any influence upon later art, this is the one. The noblest inspirations of Van Dyck may be traced to this wonderful picture. A repetition, of almost equal beauty of execution, is in the Louvre.

The great picture, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, now in the Academy at Venice, is of a cheerful, worldly character. A crowd of figures, among whom are the

senators and procurators of St. Mark, are looking on in astonishment and excitement while the lovely Child, holding its little blue garment daintily in its right hand, is ascending the steps of the Temple, where the astonished high priest, attended by a Levite, is receiving her with a benediction. Windows and balconies are full of spectators; while, next the steps, sits an old woman selling eggs, looking on at the tumult with curiosity. The scene is rendered with great naïveté, and with an incomparable glow of colour. The Supper at Emmaus is a picture of Titian's which often recurs: a specimen of it is in the Louvre, also a good school repetition in the Studj gallery at Naples.

There are also excellent altar-pieces by Titian: enthroned Madonnas, surrounded with Saints, with the faithful in adoration at their feet. A large picture of this class, the Madonna with several Saints, and the Pesaro family as donors, a work of the finest truth and life, is in S. Maria dei Frari at Venice. Others of great excellence are in the Dresden gallery.

In other not very frequent pictures by Titian of this class, the so-called *santa conversazione* is more freely arranged. The saints are represented sitting or standing unrestrainedly together, conversing with each other. The Madonna's throne, which, in the pictures of the Vivarini and of Bellini, always divided the groups of saints, is here introduced on one side, or is entirely omitted. In the latter instances the Virgin is seen above in a glory of light, while the conversation is carried on below in easy groups. In these works the object of edification is naturally lost sight of, and they present only an assemblage of fine and powerful human beings, who appear not always to be brought together by religious interests alone. A splendid altar-piece of Titian's later time (formerly in the church dei Frari at Venice, now in the gallery of the Vatican) may be quoted as a specimen of his pictures of this class. St. Nicholas, in full episcopal costume, is gazing upwards with an air of inspiration, St. Peter is looking over his shoulder at a book, and a beautiful St. Catherine is on the other side. Farther behind, in ecstasy, are St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua; on the left, St. Sebastian, whose figure recurs in almost all these pictures. Above, in the clouds, with angels,

is the Madonna, who looks cheerfully on, while the lovely Child throws a garland of flowers down below.[1] Excellent pictures of this kind are in Munich, especially in the Leuchtenberg Gallery.[2] The figure of John the Baptist, as large as life, with all its beauty is not of a decided character, and is imbued rather with the expression of gentle sorrow than of high presentiment. The large St. Jerome, in a grandly wooded rocky landscape, is an imposing representation of overwhelming repentance, and may be considered one of those subjects of Titian which most impressed the minds of the painters of the seventeenth century. One of the best specimens of the often repeated representation of the Magdalen is in the Barberigo palace; others are in the Escurial, in the Pitti palace, in the Studj Gallery at Naples, in the Doria palace at Rome, &c. These pictures represent grief of no profound or moral character, but rather a beautiful woman, whose repentance will not be of any great duration. A grand altar-piece, Tobit with the Angel, is in the church of St. Catherine at Venice: the assistance of Titian's scholar, Santo Zago, is thought to be discernible in it.[3] Titian excels in those subjects in which the external repose of the figures affords an opportunity for the development of his peculiar excellence. Even in the Assumption and Entombment above mentioned this is observable, but it is less so in those more rare works in which an animated action is necessary. Such subjects are foreign to his nature, and the constraint is evident. This is the case, for instance, in the Christ crowned with Thorns, in the Louvre, where the painter hardly seems at home in the representation of the rude and the violent. Even in his two most celebrated historical pictures, great as were his powers of life and animation, we observe that his sphere lay more in the representation of existence than in that of action. One of these two great pictures, the St. Peter Martyr, in S. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice, is hardly a happy conception for a colossal altar-piece. The Saint is looking up to heaven, in expectation

[1] [Or rather holds a wreath as if ready to crown a votary; two infant angels also hold wreaths.—Ed.]

[2] Now removed to Russia.

[3] [Another picture of this subject, unquestionably by Titian, is or was in S. Marziale. See Zanetti, Della Pittura Veneziana, pp. 107, 108.—Ed.]

of death. His sufferings are seen most in the furious spring of the murderer, and in the terrified action of the disciple. The landscape—the border of a dark wood, with fine clouds, and the mountains seen behind in bright twilight—is one of Titian's invariably masterly scenes.[1] The Martyrdom of S. Lorenzo, an altar-piece of equally colossal dimensions, in the Jesuits' Church at Venice, is a picture of incomparably more importance (like the Peter Martyr it has suffered considerably). The fine, nobly foreshortened figure of the Saint, lighted above by a beam of heavenly glory, and below by the fire, exhibits far less the physical suffering than the sacred fortitude of the Martyr—to the astonishment of the rude tormentors around him, some of whom show their feelings in increased malignity, others in admiration or in flight; only a hardened veteran remains untouched, and continues looking at the Saint without any change of emotion. To this is added an effect of light such as is perhaps unique in painting—the fire, the ray from above, the light from two pans of burning pitch, altogether producing a combination of light and reflection in the nocturnal scene which, in themselves, would have given the highest value to the commonest composition.

Titian executed important pictures, principally of historical

[1] [It has not been thought necessary to notice every instance where the judgments of the author differ from received opinions, but it is impossible to suffer the above remarks on the Pietro Martire to pass without at least observing that the majority of critics have long placed this picture in the highest rank of excellence. The Christ crowned with Thorns is unsurpassed in colour, but the Pietro Martire has been always considered as excellent in invention as in the great qualities which are peculiar to the painter. Having said thus much, it may be granted that the author's general remark respecting Titian's superior treatment of grave subjects appears to be well founded, and instances of exaggerated action might undoubtedly be quoted. A certain imitation of Michael Angelo is to be recognized in some of Titian's works in the most vigorous period of his career; but this imitation seems to have been confined to qualities (such as contrast in action and grandeur of line) which were analogous to his own characteristic excellences. The Friar escaping from the Assassin, in the Pietro Martire, is as fine an example of the union of these qualities in form as is to be found in the works of any painter: other instances were perhaps less successful. For the rest, the taste was not permanent in Titian: he returned to that "senatorial dignity" which Reynolds has pointed out as one of his prominent qualities, and in this view the remark of the author must be allowed its due weight. The description which follows of the picture representing the martyrdom of S. Lorenzo must be understood to refer to the original appearance of that work: at present, parts of it are so much darkened as to be scarcely visible.—Ed.]

subjects, in the Palace of the Doge: they were destroyed by a fire which consumed almost the whole interior of the edifice, about the middle of the sixteenth century. A fresco of St. Christopher, painted over a small staircase next to the chapel, is preserved. The head is fine; the rest of the figure very mediocre. In the Palazzo del Consiglio at Verona, an historical picture of very large size is ascribed to him. In this the Doge of Venice is represented on a throne, on each side of which are the senators in red costume; on the right, the Sclavonian guard; on the left, in white silk habiliments, the councillors of Verona, delivering up the banner and keys of their city to the Doge. Above, in the clouds, is the Virgin, with St. Mark and S. Zeno, the patron saints of Venice and Verona. The composition of this picture is not remarkably grand. In some parts (the figures of the saints for instance) the hand of an inferior artist is easily to be recognized. The portrait-heads are, however, very excellent, and full of life.

In the representation of the naked female form, Titian displays peculiar mastery; the magic of his colouring is here developed in its fullest power. It must be remarked, however, that this very mastery over his materials not unfrequently betrays him into an ostentatious exhibition of it, so that where we look for artlessness, for example in the freedom of domestic retirement, we find sometimes a studied display of beautiful limbs. This is very striking in a comparison between the two famous Venuses in the tribune of the Uffizj in Florence. The artlessness of one (she holds flowers in her hand—in an adjoining apartment women are taking garments out of a chest) powerfully fascinates the beholder; the other (with Love standing behind), although displaying equal mastery in the execution, leaves the spectator cold. For the rest, the first-mentioned is wonderfully true to nature: the figure appears quite surrounded by light, for she reclines on a white drapery before a light background, yet the forms are exquisitely rounded, and are very powerful in colour. Similar pictures are frequent—for example, at Dresden; in the gallery at Naples there is a beautiful Danae; another is at Vienna; other specimens of the kind are in England: a celebrated picture is in the gallery at Cambridge; in this instance Venus

is personated by the Princess of Eboli, and Philip II. playing the lute sits beside her. Other excellent pictures of a similar class are also in England: two large ones of Diana and her Nymphs in the Bath are in the Stafford Gallery; in one the subject of Actæon is introduced—in the other the Disgrace of Calisto. Both these pictures belong to the later period of the master, and are greater in general effect than in execution. A repetition by his own hand of the picture of Calisto, painted for Philip II., is in the Madrid Gallery; another in the Belvedere at Vienna. A charming picture of Venus rising from the sea and drying her hair is in the Stafford Gallery also—near her is a floating shell. Another, of Venus trying to keep Adonis from the Chase, is in the Madrid Gallery; a second original repetition is in the Barberigo palace at Venice; another is in the English National Gallery. In the Barberigo palace there is a picture of Venus (a half-length figure), with Cupid holding a mirror before her; also a picture of a Nymph embraced by a Satyr. An Equipment of Cupid is in the Borghese palace: Venus is binding his eyes, whilst another *amorino* leans whispering over her shoulder, and two Graces bring the bow and quiver. Although somewhat mannered, and assimilating to the style of Paul Veronese, this picture is remarkable for the cheerful life and naïveté which pervades it. Three splendid pictures painted by Titian in 1514, for Alphonso Duke of Ferrara, represent larger mythological scenes in a rich landscape: two of them, the Arrival of Bacchus in the Island of Naxos, and a Sacrifice to the Goddess of Fertility, are in the gallery at Madrid; the third, Bacchus and Ariadne, is in the National Gallery at London. This is the most poetic and charming conception of the ancient myth, full of beauty and fancy, with severer and nobler forms than Titian's later works usually exhibit. Giovanni Bellini's already mentioned Bacchanalian scene with Titian's landscape is supposed to have been the fourth picture of this class. Another Bacchanalian scene, in the Madrid Gallery, is also of the highest beauty. It represents a party of youths and maidens, chiefly undraped, revelling in the open air—some drinking and singing, and others dancing in sportive groups. The only studied figure is a bacchantin sleeping

in the foreground.[1] The celebrated Venus del Pardo, in the Louvre—properly speaking Jupiter (transformed into a Satyr) and Antiope—has been much injured, and is now chiefly distinguished for its grand and beautiful landscape. A picture of the greatest power of this class is in the Munich Gallery; it represents Venus initiating a young maiden into the mysteries of Bacchus. The principal figures of this piece are repeated in several other pictures—for instance, in a picture in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, representing the Marchese del Vasto with his mistress and other figures.

Titian composed also many charming pictures in that romantic symbolical style which Giorgione had developed: one of them, called "The Three Ages," represents a young shepherd and a fair girl seated together on the grass, his hand resting on her shoulder, while she looks at him with an expression of innocence and sweetness; on one side are three winged children, two of them sleeping, the other just awakened; in the distance an old man, surrounded with the bones of the dead. This is one of the most beautiful idyllic groups of modern creation, and the spectator involuntarily partakes of the dream-like feeling which it suggests. There are two original pictures of this scene: the one in the Bridgewater Gallery in London; the other in the Manfrini palace at Venice. An excellent copy by Sassoferrato, but conceived in a very different spirit, is in the Borghese palace at Rome. The beautiful picture called "Sacred and Profane Love" is also in the Borghese palace. Two female forms are seated on the edge of a sarcophagus-shaped fountain, the one in a rich Venetian costume, with gloves, flowers in her hands, and a plucked rose beside her, is in deep meditation, as if resolving some difficult question. The other is unclothed; a red drapery is falling behind her, while she exhibits a form of the utmost beauty and delicacy; she is turning towards the other figure with the sweetest persuasiveness of expression. A Cupid is playing in the fountain; in the distance is a rich, glowing landscape.

[1] [This picture is one of the three painted for the Duke of Ferrara: consequently, the subject called by the author "The Arrival of Bacchus in the Island of Naxos" is either identical with it or with the "Bacchus and Ariadne" in the National Gallery. *See* Ridolfi, Le Meraviglie dell' Arte, p. 142.—Ed.]

Finally, Titian may be considered as the finest portrait painter of all times. He was not content with giving his subjects all that was grand and characteristic in style: he also gave them the appearance of dignified ease. He seems to have taken them at the happiest moment, and thus has left us the true conception of the old Venetian, by the side of whom all modern gentlemen look poor and small. For however rich and gay the costume may be, it is the noble consciousness of existence which engrosses our attention in such pictures. But it is his female portraits, above all, which are to be admired, especially those few which go by the name of "Titian's Mistress." That portrait known by this appellation in the Louvre is a specimen of the fullest and most lavish beauty. The same head is repeated with equal beauty in the so-called "Flora," in the Gallery of the Uffizj at Florence, who is represented with her golden tresses flowing loosely over her naked shoulders and bust, holding flowers in her right hand, and a piece of violet-coloured drapery in her left. His more proper portraits are "La Bella di Tiziano," in the Pitti palace, a ripe beauty in a blue gold-embroidered dress, with violet and white padded sleeves and gold chain. Also another splendid serious beauty, known by the same name, in red and blue silk dress, in the Sciarra Gallery at Rome. The so-called Slave (a totally unmeaning name), in the Barberini palace at Rome, probably a mere school picture, of grand beauty, but with too clumsy a style of drapery, too cold an expression, and too brown a carnation for Titian. We pass over numerous other female portraits. Of his family portraits the first in value is that of the family Cornaro kneeling before the Host, in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland in London. His male portraits are so numerous in every gallery in Europe that it is difficult to name the most important. In the Louvre we find the Marchese del Guasto with his mistress, to whom Cupid, Flora, and Zephyr are bringing gifts; also King Francis I. (probably not from life, but from a medallion), and several others of the highest value. In the Manfrini palace at Venice, the portrait of Ariosto; in the Barberigo palace, Pope Paul III.; in the gallery of the Uffizi at Florence, Charles V. in armour, and a young warrior

with others; in the Pitti palace, Pietro Aretino (a repetition of the same is at Munich), Cardinal Ippolito di Medici, in a gorgeous Hungarian costume, and Philip II., a full-length figure; in the Corsini palace at Rome, Philip II., a half-length figure, admirably conceived; in the Colonna palace at Rome, Onofrius Panvinius; in the Berlin Museum, the Admiral Moro, and others. Finally, we may mention the often repeated picture of Titian's daughter Lavinia. One of the finest specimens is in the Berlin Museum. Here the beautiful and splendidly attired girl is holding up a plate of fruit. Other repetitions exist—one probably in Petersburg, another in the possession of Lord De Grey in London, where, instead of fruit, she is holding up a jewel casket; a fourth is in the Madrid Gallery,[1] but here it becomes an historical representation; it is the daughter of Herodias, who carries the head of John the Baptist in a charger: the costume is treated with more freedom, the action is more impassioned, and the whole is strikingly poetical. In his "Nymph and Satyr," in the Barberigo palace, we recognize the same head. In his later works Titian is somewhat mannered; he persevered in painting even to extreme old age—slow to believe that his eye or mind had become weak. At the same time, even in his very latest productions, there is plenty that is admirable and little that is objectionable; the diminution of his powers being less apparent in the mannerism of his forms than in the indecision of his composition. There is great animation in his Annunciation, in S. Salvatore at Venice: the head of the angel—in character like that of a bold and beautiful youth—and the mirth of the cherubs in the heavenly glory, are all sufficient to make us overlook the very mediocre representation of the Virgin. The Transfiguration, in the same church, evinces also no want of power, nor even of strong emotion; the forms only are more undecided. His latest work, not quite completed by himself—a Pietà, or Dead Christ lying in the lap of the Virgin, attended by the Magdalen and St. Jerome, in the Academy at Venice—shows certainly that his hand trembled beneath the weight of ninety and nine years; but

[1] See the author's Essay on these different representations in the Museum, Blätter für bildende Kunst, 1833. No. 30.

the conception of the subject is still animated and striking, the colours still glowing, while, Titian-like, the light still flows around the mighty group in every gradation of tone.

It only belongs to us to point to that peculiar treatment of landscape by which Titian became the founder of a new school in this line.[1] A native of the Alps as he was, the mountains, villages, and trees of his own Friuli were often introduced into his glowing pictures; not that he aimed at the fantastic in style, like the old Netherlanders, but at the legitimately beautiful; not at the quantity of subject, like the early Florentines, but at the grand and the simple; in his hands groups and colours became harmonious. His influence in this department probably informed the school of the Carracci, so that Poussin and Claude Lorraine may be considered as directly derived from him. Whether he ever treated landscape as the principal subject we must leave undecided, but it is certain that in many of his pictures the figures are secondary in importance. A Preaching of John the Baptist, in Devonshire House, in London, serves only as the basis on which he raises a richly poetical landscape with grand hilly forms.

This great artist formed very few scholars, but had many imitators. They endeavoured to adopt his style, and if they have left no work of the highest rank, they were at least preserved from the errors of mannerism by following nature in the path to which they were guided by him. Among these are many artists of his own family—his brother Francesco Vecellio, by whom is a clever altar-picture in Berlin; his son Orazio Vecellio, a distinguished portrait-painter; his nephew, the faithful companion of his journeys, Marco Vecellio, by whom are some tolerably good works in the palace of the Doge in Venice, and in S. Giovanni Elemosinario. Santo

[1] [Landscape-painting in Italy, however independent in its perfection, appears in its origin to have been indebted, in more than one instance, to a German influence. Vasari distinctly says that Titian kept some German landscape-painters in his house, and studied with them for some months. In Bologna it is probable that Denys Calvart, a Flemish artist, first excited the emulation of the Carracci, Domenichino, and others, who, in the end, formed so distinguished a school of landscape-painters. In both these instances a certain resemblance to the German manner, however differently modified by the character of the schools, is to be recognised, especially in the umbellated treatment of the foliage.—Ed.]

Zago also, and Girolamo di Tiziano, properly speaking Girolamo Dante, are good copyists of the master.

Bonifazio Veneziano (1494–1563) is a dignified and able, though occasionally a somewhat mechanical painter of the Venetian school, and a good imitator of Titian. He is a proof of how much may be done with time and opportunity even with second-rate talents. Venice is rich in his pictures. Among them, the most attractive, by their ability and unaffected treatment, are those of Saints simply arranged, and Holy Families. In larger compositions he does not succeed; they want both the truth and energy of Titian, and the permanent force of his colours. Still, his sacred subjects, of which a great number exist, please us by the multitude of their animated and agreeable forms, and here and there by their charming and romantic mode of treatment. As a specimen we may especially mention "The Rich Man's Supper," in the Academy at Venice. The time is the afternoon, the place an open hall, with a table, at which the rich man is seated between two female figures; the one with her hand on her heart seems to be assuring him of her fidelity; the other is listening thoughtfully to a lute player, and to a half-kneeling violoncellist, whose music is held by a Moorish boy; while a bearded young noble overlooks the group. On the left are two pages drinking wine; on the right Lazarus the beggar being turned away by a servant with a dog; in the background is a stately garden, with falconers, pages, and grooms. Bonifazio's latest pictures are one and all insipid and very mannered.

Andrea Schiavone is another good imitator of Titian. A beautiful Adoration of the Shepherds by him is in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna; also an excellent Madonna with Angels (whole-length figures), in the Academy at Venice; the Murder of Abel, a piece of fine foreshortening, with a beautiful wooded landscape, in the Pitti palace, and many others. His colouring is fine, but his heads are generally insipid, and his forms careless and undecided. A Christ before Pilate, in the Studj Gallery at Naples, is ascribed to Schiavone; it is full of the defects we have mentioned; the head of Pilate is, however, admirable—with his large glassy eyes he seems to ask, "What is truth?"

Domenico Campagnola is also another good imitator of

Titian; his great talents excited the jealousy of the master. Four Prophets, half figures, by this artist, are in the Academy of Venice, and more important works are at Padua. Giovanni Cariani of Bergamo, originally a follower of Giorgione, deserves honourable mention; graceful pictures by him are to be seen in his native city. The most excellent is a Madonna, removed from S. Gottardo, in Bergamo, to the Milan Gallery during the French domination; we are uncertain if it still remains there. The Madonna sits in a landscape, with a rich tapestry, supported by two angels behind her; a number of saints are on each side: simplicity of arrangement, and a pleasing cheerful character, distinguish this picture. Geronimo Savoldo of Brescia is a not less clever imitator of Titian. A beautiful Adoration of the Shepherds, by him, is in the Manfrini Gallery in Venice; also a finely painted, but otherwise unimportant Transfiguration in the Uffizj at Florence,—two holy hermits in the Manfrini Gallery; and a pleasing female figure in the Museum at Berlin. Still more important than all these is Callisto Piazza of Lodi (see p. 232); a number of his works, representing the life of John the Baptist, are in the church "dell' Incoronata" at Lodi: in purity of sentiment and depth of character they may vie with the finest works of the school. Some earlier paintings by him are at Brescia, in S. Maria di Calchera (in the sacristy of S. Clemente), which partake more of the Lombard style. His first principal picture in the Venetian style (in which the influence of Giorgione is visible) is an excellent Assumption of the Virgin—1533—in the parish church at Codogno. He afterwards resided some time in Spain.

Alessandro Bonvicino of Brescia, commonly called Il Moretto di Brescia (1500-1547), has a style of his own. He adhered at first closely to Titian's manner, but afterwards adopted much of the Roman school, and by this means formed a mode of representation distinguished for a simple dignity, and tranquil grace and stateliness, which occasionally developed itself in compositions of the very highest character. In such cases he evinces so much beauty and purity in his motives, and so much nobility and sentiment in his characters, that it is unaccountable how this master should, till within the last few years, have obtained little more than a local celebrity,

His colouring is colder than that of most Venetian painters, but not less harmonious. He is most successful in tranquil altar-pieces; his talents not being adapted to the animation requisite for historical painting. He has left excellent works in his native city—an Assumption of the Virgin is in S. Clemente, a St. Joseph in S. Maria delle Grazie, and a beautiful Coronation of the Virgin in S. Nazario. Other works by him have also recently found their way to foreign countries: a Madonna worshipped by two Saints was in the collection of Mr. Solly in London (now in the possession of Mr. Palgrave) — a Judith in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, there unaccountably denominated a Raphael, is now ascribed to Moretto—a picture of the Virgin, as she is supposed to have appeared in Brescia, is in the possession of M. von Quandt at Dresden. Far more remarkable, however, is the large altar-piece, now in the Städel Institution at Frankfort, representing the tender and dignified figure of the Madonna enthroned between St. Anthony and an admirable St. Sebastian. In the Imperial gallery at Vienna is a St. Justina (there called a Pordenone), with the kneeling figure of Duke Hercules of Ferrara beside her. The countenance of the Saint is sweet, mild, and thoughtful, and the head of the Duke very fine. Two excellent pictures of Saints are also in the Louvre. Finally, the Berlin Museum possesses, besides a few smaller works by Moretto, a colossal Adoration of the Shepherds of great excellence: also a large votive picture, which is one of the finest works of the master. The Virgin is seated above in the clouds, with the two children and St. Anna, surrounded with beautiful infant angels: this is perhaps the noblest representation of a Holy Family that the Venetian school produced. Two priests are kneeling below in profound devotion; the one an amiable looking old man, the other a truly lofty figure, full of the intensest self-resignation; a rich landscape forms the background. Moretto was distinguished by a childlike piety; when painting the Holy Virgin he is said to have prepared himself by prayer and fasting.[1]

[1] [Of Moretto's master-works within Brescia not one-fourth is here indicated. As a painter who united gifts generally found incompatible—Venetian method, ideal design, and feeling exquisitely high and holy—he deserves the peculiar

The celebrated portrait-painter Giovanni Battista Moroni was the scholar of this Moretto; he flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century. His portraits are full of life, and are painted with great individual truth, but they are never conceived in an elevated feeling; hence his figures are limited in their attitudes — just, in fact, as they sat to the painter. Titian's portraits, on the contrary, are distinguished by the grandest picturesque roundness of composition and complete filling up of the space.[1] In his carnation Moroni has a certain tendency to violet tints, but is excellent in representing all the various materials of dress, &c. His paintings are to be found in many galleries, the Venetian Academy, the Manfrini gallery in Venice, the Uffizj in Florence, &c. His own animated and interesting portrait is in the Berlin Museum. His portrait of a Jesuit in the Duke of Sutherland's gallery in Stafford House is a masterpiece of art. In historical pictures Moroni is unimportant. Contemporary with Moretto, in Brescia, flourished Girolamo, called Il Romanino, an artist who likewise confined himself principally to the style of the Venetian school, but who modified it in a peculiar manner. While Moretto distinguished himself by simplicity and repose, Girolamo displays in his compositions a fantastic and lively imagination; occasionally also a certain grandeur of pathos, the more striking from the simple and almost slight treatment of his details. Considerable works by this master occur in various places. The Sacristy of S. Justina at Padua contains a stately Madonna enthroned. A dead Christ with the group of mourners around (1510) is in the Manfrini palace at Venice. This is a truly grand work, conveying a touching expression of grief. In the Museum at Berlin there is an altar picture, with several saints and a great variety of acces-

study of English artists. His best pictures present the combination of qualities that we might conjecture Gian Bellini, had he lived half a century later, would have manifested.—P.]

[1] [The superiority of Titian to Moroni may be readily admitted, but in choice of attitude and the absence of constraint the latter must be allowed a high degree of merit. It would be difficult to select a more remarkable example of this kind of excellence than the portrait miscalled 'Titian's Schoolmaster,' in the gallery of the Duke of Sutherland. Ridolfi tells us that Titian was in the habit of recommending the distinguished inhabitants of Bergamo to sit to Moroni for their portraits.—Ed.]

sories; also a Descent from the Cross, from the Casa Brugnoli at Brescia, considered Romanino's chef-d'œuvre; a somewhat coarse picture, but of striking power in conception and colour.

Girolamo Muziano, a scholar of Romanino, was employed at a later period in Rome, where he became one of Michael Angelo's best imitators. At all events his chief picture, the Preaching of S. Jerome to his Monks in the Desert, in S. Maria degli Angeli at Rome, is a work of excellent arrangement and admirable expression. Other productions of this painter are mannered in style. Another scholar of Romanino's, Lattanzio Gambara, is honourably distinguished by historians of art. His scholar, Giovita Bresciano, surnamed Il Brescianino, was a clever painter in the later Venetian manner.

Giovanni Antonio Licinio Regillo da Pordenone (1484–1539), so called from his birth-place, formed a manner independent in a great degree of Giorgione and Titian, and was a decided rival of the latter. He rarely rises to an animated style of composition,[1] but generally confines himself, even where such a treatment is least appropriate, to a simple arrangement of figures. His heads seldom exhibit any impassioned expression. His particular excellence is the wonderful softness and tenderness (*morbidezza*) with which he painted flesh: in this he is not surpassed even by Titian himself. He is distinguished in portrait-painting, and frequently introduces several heads into one picture: that of his own family is in the Borghese palace in Rome. Another of Himself, with his Scholars, is in the Manfrini palace in Venice. There are many excellent altar-pictures by Pordenone in Venice, particularly one in the Academy, a Madonna with saints, very graceful and dignified. His celebrated S. Lorenzo Giustiniani attended by Saints, a much less important work, was formerly in S. Maria dell' Orto: larger compositions by him are to be met with, for example, in S. Rocco in Venice—saints, with

[1] [This is hardly correct. In the town of Pordenone there are, or were a few years since, some very animated compositions by this artist, and he more than once painted the subject of Curtius leaping into the gulf on the outside of houses in and near his native place (see Maniago, Storia delle Belle Arti Friulane). The picture which the author proceeds to mention, in the Borghese collection, is by Bernardo Licinio: the name is inscribed.—Ed.]

groups of indigent persons around them; these, though exhibiting more life and action, are somewhat mannered in parts: many more are in Venice and other parts of Lombardy. 'The Woman taken in Adultery,' in the Museum of Berlin, is a very celebrated picture of his; not so much from its action or expression of emotion as from the great truth of character in the heads. Two large pictures by Pordenone—the Finding of Moses and the Adoration of the Kings—are in Burleigh House, there erroneously imputed to Titian and to Bassano: they are rich compositions, and noble in execution. A Christ washing the Feet of his Disciples, in the Berlin Museum, appears, on the other hand, to have been the work of his latest time. The incident is very superficially conceived, and the execution very slight.

Bernardino Licinio was the scholar and relation of Pordenone: he was similar in style, but generally less noble in his heads. A good altar-piece by him is in S. Maria de' Frari in Venice; admirable portraits are in the Berlin Museum. Other scholars are Calderari, an excellent imitator of Pordenone, and Pomponio Amalteo, his son-in-law. An excellent fresco picture by this latter, representing the apocryphal story of Trajan and the Widow, is at Ceneda, near Belluno. Other works of the kind by him are in the neighbourhood.

A second painter, equally distinguished in his portraits, is Paris Bordone (1500–1570): he also took a peculiar path. He formed himself on Giorgione's works, but avoided his severity; adopting afterwards so much of Titian's manner that his works might often bear that master's name. He is remarkable for a delicate rosy colouring, which indeed sometimes borders on effeminacy. His female portraits, of which there are many in the galleries of Munich, in the Belvedere and Esterhazy galleries in Vienna, the Manfrini collection in Venice, the Uffizj in Florence, &c., are sweet and graceful, although not very intellectual in conception. Like Pordenone, he is unimportant in large compositions; his altar pieces, chiefly Madonnas with Saints, have something of the spirited excitement of Correggio, only without his *naïveté*; his heads are excellent. Two pictures of this description are in the Berlin Museum. His most celebrated picture is in the Aca-

demy of Venice, and alludes to the Tempest, by Giorgione, already described. Here the fisherman, who was present when the saints stilled the tempest, presents a ring to the Doge, which he had received from S. Mark as a pledge of the patron saint's gracious disposition towards Venice. The picture is rich in figures, simple, but of no great power; the splendid execution, however, gives it the most attractive air of truth, to which the view of the grand Venetian buildings much contributes. The most significant picture of Bordone's is perhaps the Tiburtine Sibyl. An altar is still burning on which Augustus has offered up his fruitless sacrifices, while the sibyl, a female of the most beautiful Titian type, stands before him and his followers, pointing in the distance to the new-born Saviour. In colouring also, this picture is one of the master's chefs-d'œuvre. His celebrated Paradise, also in the Academy, formerly in the church of Ognissanti, at Treviso, is very feeble. His small pictures, such as a Madonna with the Child and Mary Magdalen, in the Manfrini palace, and a Riposo during the Flight into Egypt, in the Pitti palace, are more pleasing. Another representation of this subject is in the Bridgewater Gallery.

We conclude this account of the Venetian artists who flourished toward the middle of the sixteenth century with Battista Franco, il Semolei, who studied in Rome, and is classed among the imitators of Michael Angelo. In the small number of his works existing in Venice, he appears as a moderate follower of the Florentine or Roman style, which he combines well with that of Venice. He is particularly pleasing in small decorations in the compartments of ceilings, as in the Scala d'Oro of the Palace of the Doge, and in a chapel of S. Francesco della Vigna, at Venice. In larger works (the most important are in this same chapel) he is more mannered. An excellent portrait of Sansovino, by him, is in the Berlin Museum.

The school of Venice continued to flourish, and to retain a real and vital originality, for a much longer period than any other school in Italy. This superiority is to be attributed on the one hand to certain favourable external circumstances, and on the other to the healthful principle of the school, viz., the study and imitation of nature. It cannot be said that the

artists of the second half of the century, whom we now proceed to consider, equalled in their collective excellence the great masters of the first, but in single instances they are frequently entitled to rank beside them.

At the head of these is Jacopo Robusti, surnamed, from his father's trade, Tintoretto (the dyer), (1512-1594). He was one of the most vigorous painters that the history of art exhibits; one who sought rather than avoided the greatest difficulties, and who possessed a true feeling for animation and grandeur. If his works do not always please, it must be imputed to the foreign and non-Venetian element which he adopted, but never completely mastered, and to the times in which he lived. In our next chapter we shall say more on this head: here it is sufficient to remark that Venetian art had fallen into the mistaken path of colossal and rapid productiveness, and that Tintoretto was the painter who paid the greatest penalty for this taste. His off-hand style, as we may call it, is, it is true, always full of grand and meaning detail: with a few patches of colour he expresses sometimes the liveliest forms and expressions; but he fails in that artistic arrangement of the whole, and in that nobility of motives in parts, which are necessary exponents of a high idea. His compositions are not expressed by finely studied degrees of participation in the principal action, but by great masses of light and shade. Attitudes and movement are taken immediately from common life, not chosen from the best models. With Titian the highest idea of earthly happiness in existence is expressed by beauty; with Tintoretto in mere animal strength, sometimes of a very rude character.

The manner in which Tintoretto formed his peculiar style, resulted from the reproach at that time cast upon the Venetian school. He was for a short time in the school of Titian, but not continuing on good terms with his master, he soon quitted him, in order to follow a path of study of his own. In the painting-room which he occupied in his youth he had inscribed, as a definition of the style he professed, "The drawing of Michael Angelo, the colouring of Titian." He copied the works of the latter, designed from casts of the Florentine and from antique sculpture, particularly by lamp-

light, to exercise himself in a more forcible style of relief; he made models for his works, which he lighted artificially, or hung up in his room, in order to make himself master of perspective appearances, so little attended to by the Venetians. By these means he united great strength of shadow with the Venetian colouring, which gives a peculiar character to his pictures, and is very successful when limited to the direct imitation of nature. But setting aside the impossibility of combining two such totally different excellences as the colouring of Titian and the drawing of Michael Angelo, it appears that Tintoretto's acquaintance with the works of the last-named master only developed his tendency to a naturalistic style. That which with Michael Angelo was the symbol of a higher power in Nature, was adopted by Tintoretto in its literal form. Michael Angelo made use of naked figures in his Last Judgment to express the artistic and poetic thought with abstract largeness. Tintoretto introduces them as mere idle accompaniments, for the sake of their fine muscular drawing or foreshortening. The works, even of his better time, are generally slight in treatment; later they became unmeaning in invention, and coarse and mechanical in execution. Added to this, a premature darkening of the colours has lowered most of his pictures.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that Tintoretto's portraits should be found invariably belonging to the better class of his works. Here his conception is free, and even grand, and generally combined with a purer and more careful execution. Three admirable portraits are in the Berlin Museum, and that of a bald-headed man with a beard is in the Louvre. Several are in English galleries, and among them two Dukes of Ferrara, with servants and pages, offering up their devotions in a church, in the collection at Castle Howard. Next to these in interest are those of his historical pictures (chiefly dating from his earlier time) in which he has introduced a rich poetical landscape. A Sacrifice of Isaac, and a Temptation of Christ, are in Castle Howard; a party of Musicians, in the Gallery of the Duke of Sutherland, in London. Altogether the earlier pictures by Tintoretto are not only more glowing in colour, but of a finer and more

naïve composition; for instance the subject of Vulcan, Venus, and Cupid, in the Pitti Palace. The same remarks apply to his sacred subjects: the Birth of the Virgin, with a glory of angels above, in the sacristy of S. Zaccaria at Venice. An altarpiece in S. Giovanni e Paolo, the Madonna with saints, and kneeling senators; another in the Venetian Academy; and others elsewhere. Also a spiritedly conceived Adoration of the Shepherds, at Castle Howard, and a fine Entombment of Christ, in the Bridgewater Gallery. Among his most celebrated but, notwithstanding the excellence of colour and animation of composition, not his most pleasing pictures, is the Miracle of St. Mark, who rescues a tortured slave from the hands of the heathen, in the Academy at Venice: and a large Crucifixion, painted 1565, in the school of S. Rocco. This building, as well as the palace of the Doge, possesses a large number of his works.[1] In the latter there is also a remarkable representation of Paradise, seventy-four feet long, and thirty feet high, painted in oil, like almost all Tintoretto's works.[2] It is in the greater council chamber, now the library, and contains an innumerable and unpleasant throng of human figures; each group apparently alike distant from the eye, and therefore in no way standing out from the rest. Many of the figures, however, display much skill; and those of Christ and the Virgin are fine and dignified. (A small and admirable sketch of this picture by Tintoretto's own hand is in the Louvre.) Four good mythological pictures are also in the saloon of the Anti-collegio, in the Doge's palace. On the other hand specimens of Tintoretto's most corrupt style may

[1] [Reckoning the pictures in the ceilings (but without reckoning some heads in the angles), there are *fifty-seven* works by this astonishing painter in the Scuola di S. Rocco alone; the greater part are very large, and the figures throughout are the size of life. The Crucifixion is a most extensive work, and, all things considered, perhaps the most perfect by the master.—Ed.]

[2] [Boschini (Ricche Minere, &c., ed. 1674) mentions some frescoes by Tintoret of considerable extent at the Campo de' Gesuiti; others at the Serviti; others on a house in the Sestier del Castello. Those on the exterior of the Palazzo Gussoni are engraved by Zanetti (Varie Pitture a fresco de' principali maestri Veneziani. Ven. 1760.)—Ed. In the Public Library are two pictures of great size by Tintoret, representing Miracles of St. Mark: one, the Removal of his Bones from Alexandria during a Storm, which leaves the relics untouched, though raging around them; the other, the Rescue of a Young Man from Shipwreck by the Saint's agency.—T.]

be seen in two enormous pictures—a Last Judgment, and the Adoration of the Golden Calf, in S. Maria dell' Orto; and in a Last Supper in S. Trovaso. Nothing more utterly derogatory both to the dignity of art and to the nature of the subject can be imagined than the treatment of the Last Supper. St. John is seen, with folded arms, fast asleep, whilst others of the Apostles, with the most burlesque gestures, are asking "Lord! is it I?" Another Apostle is uncovering a dish which stands on the floor, without remarking that a cat has stolen in and is eating from it. A second is reaching towards a flask; a beggar sits by, eating. Attendants, with page and maid-servant, fill up the picture. To judge from an overthrown chair, the revel seems to have been of the lowest description. It is strange that a painter should venture on such a representation of this subject scarcely a hundred years after the creation of Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper.

Among the scholars and imitators of Tintoretto, his son Domenico Tintoretto, and Jacob Rottenhammer, a German, may be honourably mentioned. Another scholar, Antonio Vassilacchi, called l' Aliense, transplanted the style of this master to the quiet city of Perugia, having executed ten large wall pictures for the church of S. Pietro there.

Several contemporaries of Tintoretto flourished in Verona; they stand in close relation to the school of Venice. Their principal pictures are to be seen in the churches, and in the gallery of the Palazzo del Consiglio, in Verona. To these belong Niccolò Giolfino, whose figures unite a peculiar grandeur with an expression of engaging gentleness.—Giambattista dal Moro, a scholar of Torbido, called Il Moro (already mentioned among the followers of Giorgione): his pictures are impassioned, but somewhat exaggerated.—Domenico Ricci, called Brusasorci, more celebrated in Verona than the last named, but a mediocre artist, though generally clever in execution.—Paolo Farinato, sometimes grand, and the worthiest predecessor of Paolo Veronese, of whom we are about to speak. Farinato, though not always free from exaggeration, is clever and powerful, and is pleasing from his truth of imitation.

All these artists, and Tintoretto himself, are excelled by

Paolo Cagliari of Verona, surnamed Veronese (1528–1588).[1] He lived chiefly in Venice, and formed himself, particularly in colouring, after Titian. It is true he did not equal that master in the perfection of his flesh tones, but by splendour of colour, assisted by rich draperies and other materials, by a very clear and transparent treatment of the shadows, by comprehensive keeping and harmony, Paolo infused a magic into his pictures which surpasses almost all the other masters of the Venetian school. Never had the pomp of colour been so exalted, so glorified, as in his works; his paintings are like full concerts of enchanting music. This, his peculiar quality, is most decidedly and grandly developed in scenes of worldly splendour; he loved to paint festive subjects for the refectories of rich convents, suggested of course from particular passages in the Scriptures, but treated with the greatest freedom, especially as regards the costume, which is always that of the artist's time. In these and similar examples we have the most beautiful display of grand architecture, the splendour of the precious metals in vases and so forth, the most brilliant and gorgeous costume; above all, a powerful and noble race of human beings, elate with the consciousness of existence, and in full enjoyment of all that renders earth attractive. Instead of any religious interest, we are presented with a display of the most cheerful human scenes and the richest worldly splendour. That which distinguishes Paul Veronese from Tintoretto, and which, in his later period, after the death of Titian and Michael Angelo, earned for him the rank of the first living master, was that beautiful vitality, that poetic feeling which, as far as it was possible, he infused into a sunken period of art. At the same time he adopted in many respects the naturalistic tendencies with which he was surrounded, so that his compositions may be occasionally said to run wild. The beauty of his figures is more addressed to the senses than to the soul, though even the most superficial of his innumerable works have a breath of grace and a plenitude of life which at that time had entirely departed from the other schools. In his later works, however, his colouring is sallow and negative, and is

[1] Outlines in Landon, Vies et Œuvres, etc., t. Paolo Veronese.

rendered even inharmonious by the introduction of a fiery red.

Of the earlier pictures of this master not many are known. An excellent picture in the Berlin Museum, by an unknown hand, is painted in what we may conceive to have been Paul Veronese's youthful style. It represents the Madonna and Child enthroned, with angels and saints before her, and others hastening to her; with St. Sebastian on the left, fastened to a tree. This last, with the infant Christ, and one angel, are the finest figures in the picture, many single portions of which, as well as the excellent harmony of colouring, undoubtedly indicate Paul Veronese, while other parts remind us of Giorgione, and the St. Sebastian of Pordenone. Other altar-pieces occur in Venice and elsewhere; one of the best, in S. Francesco della Vigna, is further interesting, as being a specimen of that latest style of composition for altar-pieces which subsequently was adopted by the Netherlandish school. The Holy Family is above upon a terrace; St. Anthony is seen below, turning towards the spectator, his pig at his side; a female martyred saint seated by him is gazing upwards. A Resurrection of Christ, in the same church, is of later and slighter execution; the perplexity of the guards is, however, excellent; one of them is aiming blindly at Christ with his halberd. A Marriage of St. Catherine in the church of the same name is of the finest and most animated composition, and excellent in execution. A large Coronation of the Virgin, with a whole crowded paradise full of saints, in the Academy, is one of his late off-hand pictures. A very pleasing picture by Paul Veronese was in the collection of Signor Craglietto in Venice; it represents the Madonna and Child, with Venice, characterized as a beautiful young Dogaressa, kneeling before them. Many of this master's pictures are in the Brera at Milan, and in the Louvre.

The church of S. Sebastiano at Venice, where Paul Veronese lies buried, contains the best specimens of his historical pictures, in the closer sense of the word. Of the innumerable works of his hand with which the walls and altars of this church are decorated we can only mention the most significant; and, first of all, the three very large pictures, repre-

senting the Death of St. Sebastian, executed (1560–1565) with the greatest care, and with all the splendour of his colouring. The finest of these, representing the Saint going to the place of his martyrdom, belongs to the year 1565. The scene is upon a flight of steps before a house: St. Sebastian, a fine, powerful figure, is hastening down them, while at the same time he turns to his fellow-sufferers Marcus and Marcellinus, who follow him, bound, and points towards heaven with an inspired look. One of them is gazing on him with the profoundest faith, the other is looking round at his sorrowing mother, who seeks to turn him from his purpose with her entreaties and reproaches. On the right a grey-headed father is ascending the steps, led by youths; women and children also endeavour to intercept the martyrs, but these continue the path that leads to death with the noblest tranquillity. Innumerable figures are seen on balustrades and roofs, clinging to pillars, and crowded on the stairs, looking on in the greatest excitement. This picture displays a beauty of composition, a richness without an overcrowding of subject, and a power of expression and colour which in some respects entitles it to be considered the noblest of Paul Veronese's works. The two other pictures represent St. Sebastian pierced with arrows, and stretched upon the rack. The first is of the finest invention and execution. The saint, bound to a column, is looking longingly towards heaven, where the Madonna appears accompanied by beautiful angels; next the saint are two splendid female figures, also praying to the heavenly vision; further below are three kneeling saints who regard the martyr with looks of astonishment. In the last picture it was not possible for the painter to idealize the horror of the scene, so that, in spite of its masterly conception, it does not stand comparison with the other two. The large wings of the organ, painted about 1560, contain, on the outer side, a beautiful representation of the Temple; on the inner side the miracle of the pool of Bethesda; the last again one of the most admirable of the master's productions. The lame and sick, seated along an arcade, are connected with the utmost skill in one group. An old man upon crutches is pointing with eager gestures to Christ,

who has just healed a cripple by the power of his word; behind, the Apostles are helping others of the healed out of the water. Among the ceiling pictures of this church the Crowning of Esther by Ahasuerus is the best.[1] In other historical pictures his romantic tendency is here and there happily displayed: for instance, in a Baptism of Christ, and the Adoration of the Wise Men, in the Brera at Milan; in the Finding of Moses, and in the Centurion of Capernaum, in the Dresden Gallery; and in many others, especially in the Turin Gallery. In many of these compositions we miss that which most Venetian masters are deficient in, namely, the strict relation of the subordinate allusions to the principal subject, and the careful arrangement of the groups; but this quality was at that time departing even from the Roman school. Here we must also mention the almost innumerable mythological and allegorical pictures with which Paul Veronese, in his latter years, adorned the walls and ceilings of the Doge's palace and of other buildings. If, with many beauties to rivet the eye, we here miss the purity of form and the noble conception which Titian bestowed even on the most earthly subjects, we must lay the blame in great measure on the patron, who, according to the taste of the day, was insatiable in allegory of every description, and thus compelled the painter to the adoption of that naturalistic style which was necessary to infuse freshness into such subjects. At the same time we have the well-known Rape of Europa, in the Anti-collegio, and also Venice crowned by Fame, on the ceiling of the Hall del Maggior Consiglio, both represented in a manner which touches the heart of the spectator like heroic music.

Paul Veronese's great reputation rests, however, principally on his generally colossal representations of festive meetings. The most celebrated of these pictures is the Marriage of Cana, in the Louvre, thirty feet wide, by twenty feet high, formerly in the refectory of S. Giorgio Maggiore, at Venice. The scene is a brilliant atrium, surrounded by majestic pillars.

[1] [By coarse cleaning and coarse repainting, these admirable works are now ruined. Everything in Venice that undergoes the care of the present Director of the Venetian Academy receives a like fate. Several great works are now (1854) awaiting destruction by a process which will in a few years strip Venice of the last remaining glories of the days of freedom.—P.]

The tables at which the guests are seated form three sides of a parallelogram: the guests are supposed to be almost entirely contemporary portraits, so that the figures of Christ and the Virgin, of themselves sufficiently insignificant, entirely sink in comparison. Servants with splendid vases are seen in the foreground, with people looking on from raised balustrades, and from the loggie and roofs of distant houses. The most remarkable feature is a group of musicians in the centre in front, round a table; also portraits—Paul Veronese himself is playing the violoncello, Tintoretto a similar instrument, the grey-haired Titian, in a red damask robe, the contra-bass. Another somewhat smaller representation of the same subject, full of new and spirited motives, is in the Brera at Milan; a third in the Dresden Gallery. Comparable in size and richness, but not in excellence, with the picture in the Louvre, we may mention the Feast of the Levite, in the Academy at Venice (formerly in the refectory of S. Giovanni e Paolo). This is also a gigantic composition, beneath an airy arcade, which divides the whole into three groups, with a town view behind. The chief incident is also made subordinate here, while on the other hand we have a number of the most charming episodes: the halberdiers hastily swallowing down their portion of the feast upon the stairs; the majordomo speaking with a Moorish servant, &c. Christ at the table of Simon the Publican, with the Magdalen washing his feet—another scarcely less gigantic picture in the Louvre—is much simpler in arrangement than other works of this order, and is distinguished by fine heads, and especially by a very noble Christ. Another representation of this subject is in the Brera at Milan; a third, in the Marcello Durazzo palace, at Genoa. The Supper at Emmaus also often occurs; for instance in the Louvre and in the Dresden Gallery. After the master's death his heirs finished several festive pictures of this kind after his designs, though of course they are deficient in that fulness of life which forms the pervading character of his original works. A somewhat empty "Pharisee's Feast," of this kind, is in the Academy at Venice.[1]

[1] It is not in our power to give any account of the historical frescoes which Paul Veronese and his scholars executed in the Castle of Cattajo near Padua.

Finally, we may observe that Paul Veronese's portraits, which occur but seldom, are of high merit.

His scholars, and the emulators of his manner, are very inferior to him. Among them are Carlo Cagliari, his son, and Battista Zelotti. A large Presentation in the Temple, by the latter, which does not fall far short of similar pictures by Paul Veronese himself, is in the Berlin Museum.

While the application of the Venetian principle—the imitation of nature—had given so peculiar a direction to Paolo Veronese's style, it was to be expected that some would seek to render Nature even in her commonest aspects, and that thus *genre*, as it is called, would also be cultivated. This accordingly took place in the school of the Bassani: its founder and chief master was Jacopo da Ponte (1510–1592), surnamed Bassano, from his native town; he studied the works of Titian and Bonifazio in Venice, and at first practised in the manner of these masters. He afterwards returned to his native place, a small country town, whose environs appear to have first suggested his particular style of composition. He selected those subjects in which he could most extensively introduce landscape and cottages, peasants and the lower classes of people. These he connected with events either from sacred history or mythology,[1] or often, without any particular reference to history, represented simple scenes of country life—cattle, markets, &c. Sometimes he omitted figures altogether, and introduced buildings, with animals, instruments of agriculture, kitchen utensils, and still life. These works show little variety of invention; when we have seen a few, we may be said to be acquainted with all that are in the various galleries: the countenances, too, are all alike; one of his daughters is at one time the queen of Sheba, at another a Magdalene, or again a peasant-girl with poultry.

A peculiar feature by which Bassano and his school may be known is the invariable and intentional hiding of the feet, for which purpose cattle and household utensils (old pots and

[1] [The figures in some of Giacomo Bassano's subjects are treated with sufficient dignity: the Good Samaritan, in the collection of Mr. Rogers, is an example. Among his finest works may be mentioned St. Martin dividing his Cloak with the Beggar, and the Baptism of Sta. Lucilla, the former in the Municipalità, the latter in the church of S. Valentino at Bassano.—Ed.]

pans, &c.) are introduced. For the rest, the humorous rather than sentimental treatment which gives its charm to the lower *genre* is almost wanting in the works of Bassano: for instance, the otherwise excellent Family Concert, in the Gallery of the Uffizj, is far too serious in conception as compared with the character of the forms. Bassano confines himself to a bold, straightforward imitation of familiar objects, united, however, with pleasing grouping and an attractive play of light and colour. The chief interest of his pictures consists in the last-named quality. His colours sparkle like gems, particularly the greens, in which he displays a brilliancy quite peculiar to himself. His lights are boldly impinged on the objects, and are seldom introduced except on prominent parts of figures, on the shoulders, knees, elbows, &c. In accordance with this treatment, his handling is spirited and peculiar, somewhat in the manner of Rembrandt; and what, on close inspection, appears confused, forms at a distance the very strength and magic of his colouring.[1]

That Bassano also should, generally speaking, most excel in portraits, will not surprise the reader. An old man in the Berlin Museum, and a richly dressed female in the Studj Gallery at Naples, would do honour to Tintoretto. There are also several sacred subjects existing in which Bassano developed a greater dignity, and finer and more noble forms: for instance, the Mourning Marys, at Chiswick; a Christ bearing his Cross, at Holkham; a Crucifixion in the Berlin Museum. But his cabinet pictures are the most numerous. These are works of various dimensions, which are rarely wanting, at least not in Italian galleries; but they are not all genuine. He had a regular manufactory for such works, in which he was assisted by his four sons, who had acquired his manner. Two of them, Francesco and Leandro, also painted church subjects, but not with much success. One of Francesco's best works is among the ceiling paintings of the Doge's palace at

[1] [This artist's conception of landscape stands in a relation to that of former Venetian masters interesting and characteristic. Bellini places his figures in the crystal air of an Italian morning: in Titian and Tintoret there is daylight, mighty while subdued; but the latest of that great succession throws a solemn though lucid grey over his landscape, and carries the eye back to the dying twilight spread along the distant horizon.—P.]

Venice (Sala dello Scrutinio), and represents the taking of Padua by night. An Ascension, over the high altar, in S. Luigi de' Francesi at Rome, is also not without merit. A good picture by Leandro, representing the Trinity, is in S. Giovanni e Paolo, in Venice; also a Raising of Lazarus, in the Academy, and a repetition in the Studj Gallery at Naples, in which the figures, though somewhat mechanically arranged, are upon the whole finely painted, and full of expression. It is true the astonishment of the bystanders is directed more to Lazarus than to Christ—a remark which we are the more tempted to make because it applies to many pictures of this later Venetian school. In their great manual skill, and in their reliance on a close imitation of Nature, they gradually omitted to give due prominence to those higher allusions which belong to subjects of this class.

CHAPTER IX.

DECLINE OF ART.—THE MANNERISTS.

The most brilliant period of Italian art, that which embraces the life of Raphael, resulted from a combination of numerous influences, from within and without, of the most varied kind. To describe the rapid decline and dispersion of the same in all its bearings, would be an historical task of no small extent. We must therefore content ourselves with merely giving the necessary heads.

As regards the middle of the sixteenth century, no immediate influence from the great historical events of the time—the Reformation, the great supremacy of Spain, &c.—can be admitted; or if so, only in a very limited degree. It was not till a later period, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, that these and similar causes began to operate on art. The means of education which existed about the year 1550 differed doubtless in many respects from those of Raphael's time; but the subjects of art, and the demand for her productions, continued essentially the same; the latter only increasing in amount. Let us rather seek for the causes of change in

that necessary condition of all things in this world, to rise, flourish, and to decline, from which no period of art is exempt. In that of which we are treating, the decline may be traced in increasing rapidity from about the year 1530; so that most of the scholars of the great masters, indeed some of their own later works, are not exempt from its influence. The following is a *résumé* of the features indicative of this decline, which were common to the schools of all the great masters; and if we here introduce a number of painters who are known as especial mannerists, it does not at all follow that their works are inferior to many by Giulio Romano, and the nearest scholars of Michael Angelo.

The decline of art stands in immediate connexion with the unrivalled glories of the Raphaelesque period. A climax of excellence was felt to have been attained; and it was now the general aim to hold fast, if not to surpass, that *effect* in the great works of art which appeared to have earned for their authors their universal reputation. No one remembered that the foundation of all artistic greatness depended on the mysterious harmony between the personality of the painter and his subject. The external signs of the great masters, their effect and manner were the objects of imitation, first with due modesty, and then with gradually increasing boldness, till they led to the greatest exaggerations. That which was overlooked was certainly that which was least susceptible of imitation, viz., the deep poetic intention, the noble and harmonious conception, and that arrangement which was dictated by the highest laws. Many of the painters in question would, fifty years earlier, have done great things; now they fell into repulsive mannerism, because no longer supported by those principles of harmony and beauty which, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, had inspired even mediocre talent to truly great works. Where immediate truth of nature was required, as, for instance, in portraits, great excellence was however displayed.

A considerable share of the blame must be imputed to the altered tastes of the patron, and to the consequent change in the external position of the painter. Tempted by the splendid productions of Raphael's time, princes and corporations now

thirsted for the possession of vast works of an elevated kind, which thus soon became objects of luxury which every one sought to obtain according to his rank and means. That such luxuries should be sought for also at the least possible expenditure of time or money was also natural, and as in point of allegorical or historical representation a lower order of conception was preferred to the really high and infinite in art, it followed that the superficial and ready handed painter invariably took precedence of him who possessed deeper and more lasting qualities. It is melancholy to observe how from this time painters and patrons contributed more and more to demoralize each other; the one playing the part of a courtier and an *intriguant*, the other that of a capricious master. The most enormous undertakings were now executed with the greatest rapidity. "We paint," as Vasari says, "six pictures in a year, while the earlier masters took six years to one picture;" and how colossal these pictures are we see in the Sala Regia in the Vatican, and in the great saloon in the Ducal Palace at Florence; while he naïvely adds, "And yet these pictures are much more perfectly executed than those of the early school by the most distinguished masters." (Preface to the Third Part of his Biographies.) According to his letters Vasari seems to have used his hands as actively in his picture of the Sea-fight at Lepanto, as if he had been himself engaged in the contest, and the greater the speed at which he painted the more does he seem convinced of the superiority of his powers. Thus thought also most of the popular painters of that time, and if we here and there find cause to admire their works, in spite of the false conditions under which they were produced, it is only a further proof of the greatness of that period which preceded them. That the same corrupt taste which governed the larger and monumental department of art should also extend to the class of easel pictures was inevitable; nay, the union of intrinsic nothingness with the more careful outward execution is still more displeasing in effect, except where a happy turn for natural imitation gave such works a conditional value.

In this part of the history of art a certain general flatness of style, chiefly proceeding from reminiscences of a Michael

Angelesque and Raphaelesque character, makes it difficult to enter into a classification of schools. The venerable Michael Angelo himself lived deep into the degenerate period; how far he countenanced it was perhaps unknown to Vasari.

In order now to do justice to the painters we are about to review, we must give a short summary of the fate of those schools we have already described. Those which fared the worst were the descendants of the ancient and less developed schools where the influence of the old masters had been imperfectly transplanted, such as the latest Peruginese painters, the Alfani, Adone Doni, and others, whose works, by the union of ancient and modern faults, are sometimes peculiarly unsatisfactory. Parallel with these are certain Netherlandish artists of the Roman school, though these, upon the whole, are not so deficient in external means of representation. Then follow the last Leonardists in Milan, Lanini, Lomazzo, Figino, and others, who certainly confine themselves within modester bounds than the followers of Michael Angelo, but are not the more grateful to the eye. Next come the schools of the scholars of Raphael, that of Giulio Romano, and particularly the Genoese school of Perin del Vaga, with the offset of the former at the French court. These ran utterly wild; Polidoro, on the other hand, took refuge in an empty naturalism, though, as regards Naples, this may be said to have contained a germ of future life. The scholars of Correggio, not to mention the last dregs of the school of Ferrara, are proverbially known as mannerists. As a relief to all this the school of Venice, with the works of Paul Veronese and the better productions of his contemporaries, may be seen enjoying a second youth. During and after this period the following painters were prominent.

The imitation of Michael Angelo became the first object of the Florentines. His grandeur was imposing, but it required much more than a mere habit of copying to comprehend his powerful spirit. Moreover, Florence possesses little of Michael Angelo if we except his works in sculpture; the greater part of these are not free from affectation, but these were the works from which the Florentines chiefly studied: they sought to

imitate the muscular markings displayed by violent movements, without being sufficiently grounded in the necessary theoretical knowledge. Thus they were betrayed into numerous errors: sometimes marking the muscles with equal force in repose and in action, in delicate and in powerful forms. Satisfied with this supposed grandeur of style, they troubled themselves little for the rest. Many of their pictures consist of a multitude of figures, one over the other, so that it is impossible to say what part of the ground-plan they occupy; figures which tell nothing—half-naked models in academic positions. Heavy colours thinly applied, and defective modelling, supersede the early energetic execution. The more important of these artists are:

Giorgio Vasari, of Arezzo (1512–1574), an artist of versatile talent—historical painter and architect: he superintended several buildings, and directed their embellishments: Florence, Arezzo, Rome, Naples, are rich in the works of his rapid hand. In Rome he took chief part in the decoration of the already mentioned Sala Regia in the Vatican, where the Popes formerly gave audience to foreign ambassadors. Here, as once before in the apartments of this same palace, the triumphs of the Church were the subjects; no longer, however, by means of lofty and moral symbols and allusions, but by direct heavy matter-of-fact representations in large overladen pictures of battles and ceremonies. Instead, therefore, of enumerating the many other unsatisfactory colossal pictures by Vasari, we may mention his excellent portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici in the gallery of the Uffizj at Florence, and the frequently repeated one of Cosimo I. in the Berlin Museum and other galleries. Vasari's greatest merit consists in his literary labours: his biographical account of the artists (Vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti), which he published in 1550, and in a second improved edition in 1568, was the first important work on the history of modern art, without which our whole knowledge of single masters and of the development of schools would be poor and fragmentary. Numerous omissions and chronological mistakes demand a very accurate criticism, but, upon the whole, considered as the first comprehensive work of this kind, compiled chiefly from verbal

tradition, it is singularly worthy of confidence. Added to this we remark a great fairness of tone, which, in a painter living in the midst of various pursuits and contending interests, and in a scholar of the most exclusive of all masters, is no slight merit. Finally, the style in which he writes has made the history of art agreeable to all readers, and given an incalculable interest to the subject. Vasari's descriptions are often of the greatest beauty and liveliness, and his anecdotes invaluable in the history of men and manners.

Francesco de' Rossi, surnamed 'de' Salviati' after his patrons, a friend of Vasari, and allied to him in style.

Angiolo Bronzino, another intimate friend of Vasari, an imitator of Pontormo, whom he resembles in portraits, but his colouring is often inferior—sometimes leaden, sometimes chalky, with a red that looks like rouge. A Descent of Christ into Hell, though cold, is carefully painted and not over mannered. In the Berlin Museum there is a good family portrait, a portrait of Bianca Capella, and several others.

Alessandro Allori, nephew and scholar of Bronzino: with exception of a few delicate and careful portraits, he is sufficiently mediocre.

Santi Titi or di Tito, also a scholar of Bronzino, occasionally less mannered.

Battista Naldini, Bernardino Barbacelli, called Poccetti, and others.

The second period of Florentine art attached itself later to the better productions of this school.

The general corruption of the mannerists did not extend to the Sienese in an equal degree; Arcangiolo Salimbeni, Francesco Vanni, Domenico Manetti, and others, often display some cleverness in this degenerate period, with an ingenuous adherence to nature, although they never rise to the simplicity of the earlier masters.

One of the most spirited adherents and imitators of Michael Angelo is Marco di Pino, or Marco da Siena; he practised the art in Naples, where many of his paintings are to be met with: they contain clever and spirited parts, with much that is affected and insipid.

But the completest degeneracy is to be found in Rome, the

very place in which the greatest number of the most perfect models exist. Little deserving of record was produced here up to the last thirty years of the sixteenth century; and from 1570 till 1600, every variety of manner contributed by turns to reduce the art to the very verge of ruin. Pope Gregory XIII. and his successors erected many buildings, ordered many paintings, but rapidity of hand alone had value in their eyes; art was degraded to the lowest mechanical labour.

The best among the artists of this time is Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta, who endeavoured to adhere to the style of the Raphael school: there is an excellent Pietà by him in the gallery of Count A. Raczynski at Berlin. An Adoration of the Shepherds in S. Maria della Pace, at Rome, is, in expression, colouring, and descriptiveness of the scene, a very pleasing picture. On the other hand, his frescoes in the Remigius chapel of S. Luigi de' Francesi are already much mannered.

Pasquale Cati da Jesi painted in fresco the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence above the High Altar in S. Lorenzo in Panisperna at Rome. The excellence of the drawing shows one of the best scholars of Michael Angelo.

Taddeo and Federigo Zuccaro, both generally insipid and trivial, with a disagreeable smooth manner; yet we find in both the elements of considerable talent, particularly in works where portraits are introduced, which compelled them to adhere more closely to nature. This is evident in their historical paintings in the castle of Caprarola.[1] Also in the admirable portrait of a Man with two Dogs in the Pitti Palace. Among other works, Federigo painted the cupola of the Duomo of Florence; it contains a multitude of figures, some of most colossal dimensions. A satire of the day concludes with these lines:—

> "Poor Florence, alas! will ne'er cease to complain
> Till she sees her fine cupola whitewash'd again."

But this has never happened. Federigo was also an author, and evidently wished to rival Vasari: he wrote a theoretical work on art,[2] filled with "intellectual and formative ideas,

[1] Illustri fatti Farnesiani coloriti nel Real Palazzo di Caprarola dai fratelli Taddeo, Federigo e Ottaviano Zuccari, dis. et inc. da G. G. de Prenner. Roma, 1748.

[2] L'idea de' Scultori, Pittori e Architetti, Torino, 1607. There are also other short writings by Zuccaro.

substantial substances, formal forms," &c.: he calls philosophy and philosophising "a metaphorical, allegorical drawing." Just as empty and inflated as these words are the greater number of his pictures. Here and there, however, his original gifts got the better of his false principles—as, for instance, in the Dead Christ surrounded by Angels, in the Borghese palace at Rome, which is a picture of great effect.

Agostino Ciampelli, by birth a Florentine, and a scholar of Santi di Tito, deserves notice here for his graceful row of angels with votive offerings on the walls of the apsis of S. Maria in Trastevere; also for two pictures in S. Pudenziana at Rome, representing pious females interring the bodies of martyrs. With much mannerism he still displays a feeling for expression and simple beauty.

Giuseppe Cesare, il Cavaliere d'Arpino, is a better artist: he flourished, however, more towards the beginning of the seventeenth century. We find in his works less of the deplorable manner just described, and a reasonable clear colouring. Among his better works are the ceiling frescoes in the choir of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo at Rome. He formed a great school, by means of which he directed the Roman practice, and formed a decided opposition to other masters, particularly the school of the Carracci, to whom we shall presently come.

A certain reaction to this decline of art was opposed by Federigo Baroccio of Urbino (1528–1612), originally a scholar of Battista Franco. He attached himself somewhat less superficially to the study of the great masters, especially of Correggio, so that he may take about the same rank as Parmegianino. His merit did not lie in any depth of intention or power—his conception is sometimes highly affected—his expression sentimental, and his colouring, though often of an agreeable harmony and depth, yet rouge-like in the carnations. His better attributes are a very animated and decided emotion, and also a tender idyllic character, to which his dexterously-treated light and chiaroscuro gives a higher charm. When employed in the Vatican, at Rome, some of his rivals sought to take his life by poison; this determined him to return to his home, and there to execute his numerous commissions, while his pictures, being dispersed to various parts of Italy, excited great interest.

One of his principal works, a colossal Descent from the Cross, in the cathedral at Perugia, is not without grandeur in the agitated group surrounding the fainting Virgin. A Madonna upon clouds, with St. Lucy and St. Anthony, in the Louvre, has more technical merit. Christ with the Magdalen, in the Corsini Gallery at Rome, is, for truth and *naïveté*, one of the best of his works. A large Madonna interceding for the poor, in the gallery of the Uffizj, is well painted. The pictures by him in the Vatican and in the Borghese palace are less remarkable.

Among Baroccio's followers is Cristoforo Roncalli (il Cavaliere delle Pomarance), by whom many, chiefly mediocre, works exist; the best, perhaps, are in the Cupola of S. Pudenziana; also Giovanni Baglione; several artists in Genoa, and others.

Equal degeneracy appears in Bologna, where, as we have seen, the style of the Roman school had been transplanted by Raphael's scholars and imitators.

Prospero Fontana, Lorenzo Sabbatini, Orazio Sammachini, Bartolommeo Passerotti, are the most celebrated masters of this period, but are seldom more than mere mannerists. An admirable Madonna, by Sabbatini, however, is in the Berlin Museum.

Lavinia Fontana, the daughter of Prospero, has more merit; her painting is clever and bold: in portraits especially she has left some excellent works.

Dionisio Fiammingo, properly Denys Calvart, from Antwerp, who received his education in the school of Prospero Fontana, is among the better artists: he is certainly not free from mannerism, but is distinguished by a warmer colouring, which he probably brought from his native country. Bartolommeo Cesi also deserves to be favourably mentioned, as his pictures, like those of Lavinia Fontana, show a closer attention to nature.

Lastly, Luca Longhi may be mentioned: he inclined to the old manner of Francia's school; but instead of the deep feeling of that master, we find in his pictures only an expression of an affected devotion. His chief work is a Marriage at Cana, in the refectory of the Camaldolese at Ravenna, with single fine heads.

In other places we find similar works and workmen: these may be passed over, with the exception of some artists of Genoa, where Perino del Vaga had spread the Roman style. The brothers Andrea and Ottavio Semini may be mentioned, but more particularly Luca Cambiaso (Luchetto da Genova), who, notwithstanding much mannerism, occasionally pleases by a clever and sound conception of nature. From amongst the Neapolitan mannerists of this time we must except Simone Papa the younger, who retained an agreeable simplicity, and distinguished himself by correctness of form: his most important works are the frescoes in the Church of Monte Oliveto at Naples.

BOOK VI.

RESTORATION AND SECOND DECLINE.

MASTERS OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

CHAPTER I.

ECLECTIC SCHOOLS.

The immediate effect upon art of the renewed activity of the Roman Catholic Church, consequent on the Reformation, was very apparent in Italy, and as early as the latter part of the sixteenth century we trace the fresh development of Italian painting from many central localities.

The greater number of artists of this time (that is the end of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century) are known by the name of Eclectics, from their having endeavoured to select and unite the best qualities of each of the great masters, without however excluding the study of nature. This eclectic aim, when carried to an extreme, necessarily involves a great misapprehension with regard to the conception and practice of art, for the greatness of the earlier masters consisted precisely in their individual and peculiar qualities; and to endeavour to unite characteristics essentially different at once implies a contradiction.

In opposition to these eclectics arose another school, which endeavoured to form an independent style, distinct from those of the earlier masters. This freedom was to be based on an indiscriminate imitation of common nature, conceived in a bold and lively manner. The artists of this direction are distinguished by the name of *Naturalisti*: each class exercised in its development a reciprocal influence on the other, particularly the *Naturalisti* on the Eclectics; and it is frequently impossible to distinguish, with perfect precision, the artists of one class from those of the other.

The most important of the Eclectic schools was that of the Carracci at Bologna; its founder, properly speaking, was Lodovico Carracci (1555–1619), a scholar, first of Prospero Fontano, and afterwards of Tintoretto, in Venice. He passed his youth in constant and close attention to studies which had become a dead letter among the artists of the time, and which thus exposed him to much ridicule and contempt; but this only made it the more evident to him that reform was desirable, and that it had become necessary to introduce rules and well-understood principles into art, to counteract the lawless caprice of the mannerists. But since, in such an undertaking, it was necessary to declare war against the superior strength of this undisciplined sect, he began by looking round for more powerful assistance: he found it in the persons of his two nephews, Agostino and Annibale Carracci (Agost. 1558–1601, Annib. 1560–1609). They were sons of a tailor: Agostino had been intended for a goldsmith, Annibale for his father's trade. Lodovico observed the predominant talent for painting in both, and took upon himself to educate them as artists.

In concert with them he opened an academy at Bologna, which bore the name of the *Incamminati*: this the Carracci furnished with all the necessary means of study—casts, drawings, and engravings; supplied living models for drawing and painting, and provided instruction in the theoretic departments of perspective, anatomy, &c.; they superintended and directed the studies of their scholars (many of whom had had reason to complain of the superciliousness of the older masters) with judgment and kindness. In spite of the opposition of the established painters, the school of the Carracci was more and more sought from day to day, and it was not long before all the other schools of art in Bologna were closed.

The study of nature, and the imitation of the great masters, were the fundamental principles of this school. In aiming at the latter, they sought either to unite the separate excellences of those masters in one style, or, in a somewhat ruder way, to treat single figures in their own pictures in the manner of this or that master, according to the character they wished to represent. There is a sonnet by Agostino Carracci, in which he defines the principles of the school agreeably to this system.

He says :—" Let him who wishes to be a good painter acquire the design of Rome, Venetian action and Venetian management of shade, the dignified colour of Lombardy (that is, of Leonardo da Vinci), the terrible manner of Michael Angelo, Titian's truth and nature, the sovereign purity of Correggio's style and the just symmetry of a Raphael, the decorum and well-grounded study of Tibaldi, the invention of the learned Primaticcio, and a *little* of Parmigianino's grace; but without so much study and weary labour, let him apply himself to imitate the works which our Niccolò (dell' Abbate) left us here." [1] This patchwork ideal, the impossibility of which we have already alluded to, constituted only one transition step in the history of the Carracci and their school. In the prime of their artistic activity they greatly threw off their eclectic pretensions—they neither needed the decorum of Tibaldi nor the invention of Primaticcio—they had attained an independence of their own. The imitation of the great masters, where it is

[1] " Chi farsi un buon pittor cerca, e desia,
Il disegno di Roma abbia alla mano,
La mossa coll' ombrar Veneziano,
E il degno colorir di Lombardia.

Di Michel Angiol la terribil via,
Il vero natural di Tiziano,
Del Correggio lo stil puro e sovrano,
E di un Rafel la giusta simmetria.

Del Tibaldi il decoro, e il fondamento,
Del dotto Primaticcio l'inventare,
E un po di grazia del Parmigianino.
Ma senza tanti studj, e tanto stento,
Si ponga l' opre solo ad imitare
Che qui lasciocci il nostro Niccolino."

[The above translation differs a little from that given by the author. The passage " la mossa coll' ombrar Veneziano," has been supposed to refer chiefly to Tintoret. (See Malvasia, quoted by Fuseli, Lectures, l. ii.) It is to be observed that the word " mossa " is a technical term still applied in Italy to attitude or action: thus the expression " una bella mossa " is commonly applied to an academy figure. " Venetian shade " was no doubt intended to be understood less exclusively. The management of shade in this school generally corresponds with the effects we see in the open air: the intensest darks are confined to hollows; all other shades are considered as lesser degrees of light: thus the mutable accidents of light seldom interfere with the permanent qualities of colour and form. The expression " the just symmetry of Raphael," was perhaps intended to relate to the balance of his composition and the shape of his masses—not merely to the proportions of the human form.—Ed.]

apparent, is no longer of a soulless, superficial character, the mere plagiarism of single features, but is rather a thoroughly-understood and artistic appropriation of their highest qualities, bearing the character rather of rivalry than of imitation. It is true that the eclecticism they originally professed often left its traces in a coldness, stiffness, and academical consciousness, which offends the spectator; but we are inclined to moderate even this criticism when we consider the difficulty of opposing fresh ideas to the exaggerated mannerisms then existing, and when we consider also that it was the individual energy of these painters which forced them a way through the trammels of imitation. They possessed a true and a great feeling for the representation of the higher subjects of life, and it was by their own incredible zeal that they attained a considerable, though not a perfect, harmony of corresponding style. In some respects they adopted the bold naturalism of their times, but moderated and refined by an acquaintance with the great models of antiquity, and with those of the Raphael period.

The merit of Lodovico Carracci is more that of a teacher than of an independent and productive artist. The greater number of his works are at Bologna, particularly in the gallery: in general composition they are seldom attractive or dignified; the ability they evince is rather to be sought in single parts. Among the finest of those in the gallery is a Madonna, in a glory of Angels, standing on the Moon, with St. Francis and St. Jerome beside her (the picture was taken from S. Maria degli Scalzi): the Madonna and Child are painted with peculiar grace, and with a happy imitation of the chiaroscuro of Correggio. In the same collection there is a Birth of St. John the Baptist, with much that is attractive in the truth and artlessness of certain portions. In the convent of S. Michele in Bosco, at Bologna,[1] he painted (with his scholars) scenes from the history of St. Benedict and St. Cecilia; these, in like manner, are occasionally beautiful, and even majestically graceful. The miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, in the Berlin Museum, is insignificant in conception. We

[1] Il Claustro di S. Michele in Bosco di Bologna, dip. dal famoso Lodovico Carracci e da altri maestri usciti della sua Scuola; descr. dal Sig. Malvasia. Bologna, 1694.

remark that it was Lodovico Carracci who first dwelt, in his pictures, on the pathos of sorrow, whence resulted the many Ecce Homos and sorrowing Virgins of the Bolognese school. A large Pietà, of terrible but truly natural grief in expression, is in the Corsini Gallery at Rome. A colossal Ecce Homo, of beautiful and mild expression, though not of sufficient power, is in the Doria Gallery. Several pictures in the Louvre—a Madonna, an Adoration, and others—betray, in character and mode of light and shade, the study of Correggio.

Agostino Carracci, on the whole, painted less; he was a man of learned education, and superintended the theoretical instruction of the academy. He is particularly celebrated as an engraver. Among his paintings, which are rare, and remarkable for delicacy of treatment, the St. Jerome receiving the Sacrament before his Death (taken from the Carthusian church at Bologna) is the most important picture in the Bolognese gallery. The composition, like that of all the great works of the time, has the appearance of contrivance, but the picture has great truth of character, and contains much that is good in detail. The infant Hercules strangling the Serpents, in the Louvre, of very energetic character, is by Agostino, though imputed to Annibale Carracci.

Annibale Carracci is by far the most distinguished of this family. In consequence of his studies in Upper Italy, we find an imitation of Correggio, and afterwards of Paul Veronese, in his earlier works; but after his residence in Rome, his own powerful style, formed under the influence of the works of Raphael and Michael Angelo, and of the antique, as he understood it, developed itself in a new form. Annibale does not always please; his forms have often something general and unindividual, and are deficient in the true enthusiasm for the subject: fettered by the sense of the naturalism against which he had to contend, he seems to have been afraid of trusting to his own inspiration. For all this, if the spectator be just, he may always recognise the greatness of the painter in the powerful life which pervades his works, and, in cases where his feeling for nature is allowed to have scope, in his freshness and vigour. In the Gallery of Bologna there is a picture of his from the church of S. Giorgio, in which the Madonna is

in the manner of Paul Veronese: the Infant and the little St. John in that of Correggio; St. John the Evangelist in that of Titian, while the St. Catherine resembles Parmegianino. We find similar motives in a large picture of St. Roch distributing alms, in the Dresden Gallery, one of his most celebrated works. Annibale is most happy in small compositions, such as Madonnas and Holy Families. A very graceful picture of the kind is in the Tribune at Florence; another is in the Museum at Berlin. One similar to the last mentioned is in the Louvre, where there are also a large number of his pictures of the most various periods. A Pietà, often repeated, is very excellent. A Dead Christ in the lap of the Madonna, with two weeping boy-angels; the picture is extremely well composed, and the Virgin particularly has something of the free dignity of the masters of the beginning of the century. A very beautiful repetition of this picture is in the Borghese Gallery at Rome, another is in the Museum of Naples. Also the celebrated picture of the Three Marys,—a Dead Christ, the Madonna and two women,—at Castle Howard, is of deep and noble pathos in the expression of grief. The series of frescoes of mythological designs in the Farnese palace at Rome,[1] and particularly in the so-called gallery of the palace, is generally considered his best performance. Indeed these works may be considered the fairest criterion of the school. Artistically speaking, they claim the highest admiration: for the technical process of fresco we know no more finished specimen. The arrangement on the arched ceiling of the great saloon is only surpassed (and that, it is true, in a different way) by the Sistine chapel. The drawing is altogether masterly both in the nude and in the draperies, and, as far as fresco permits, modelling, colouring, and chiaroscuro may be termed perfect. But independently of the ostentatious study of Raphael and Michael Angelo, which is everywhere apparent, we especially feel the want of the appropriate life, the real capacity for enjoyment, which after all, in subjects of this kind, is absolutely essential. Thus, from the composition and

[1] These have been frequently engraved: the best work is—Galeriæ Farnesianæ Icones, etc., ab Annibale Carracio coloribus expressæ, a Petro Aquila del. inc. Romæ.

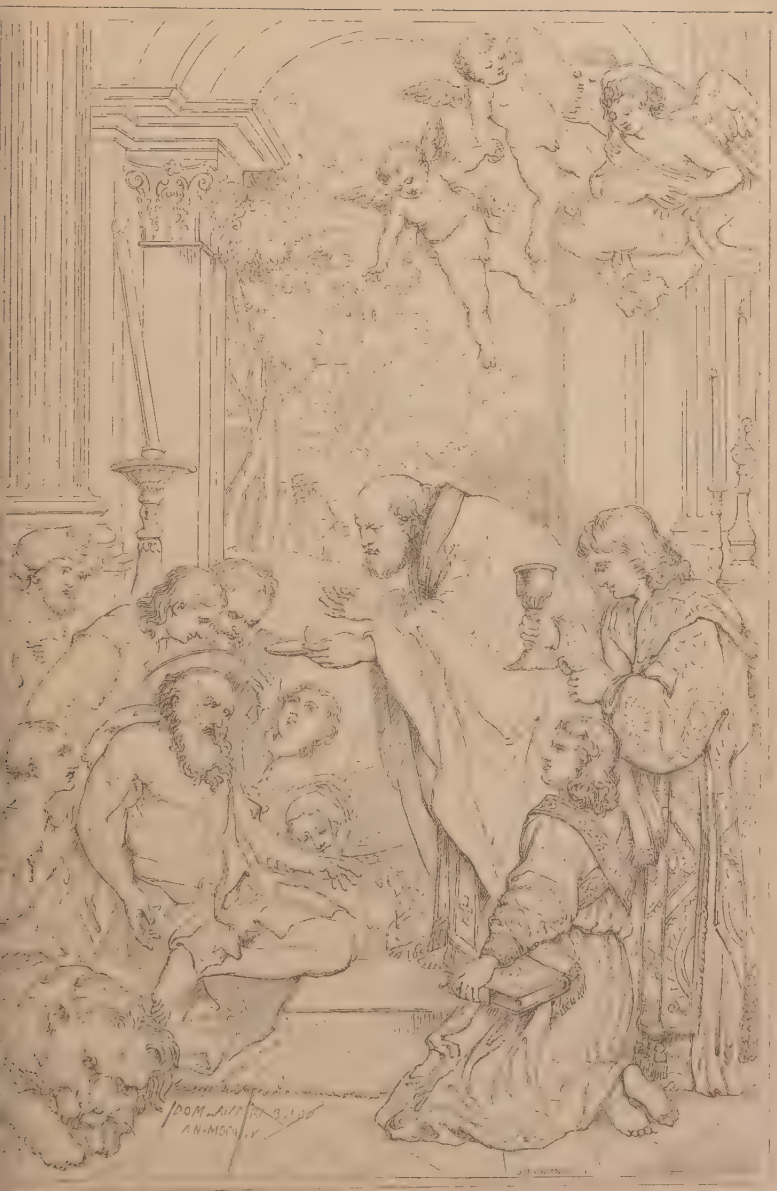
gestures of the "Galatea"—one of the many subjects represented—it is evident the picture was intended to express the fullest enjoyment of the senses; but its general expression is, on the contrary, cold and heavy, and the same may be said of other mythical subjects by Annibale; in many of them, however (for example, in the famous Bacchante in the Tribune of Florence, and in the Museum at Naples), the colouring is very masterly. The paintings in the Farnese palace were his last important works. The parsimony of his employers provoked his anger, and had an unfavourable effect on his health, which was utterly destroyed by a journey to Naples and the persecutions he encountered from the Neapolitan artists. He died soon after his return to Rome.

Besides his historical works, Annibale was one of the first who practised landscape painting as a separate department of art. In him and his contemporaries the influence of the Netherlanders and the Venetians, of Paul Brill and of Titian was united, and they, in their turn, laid the foundation for Poussin and Claude Lorraine. In many of Annibale's historical pictures, as, for example, in several in the Louvre, the landscape divides the interest with the figures. It is true his landscape is wanting in the charm which later landscape painters attained, and also in the glow of colour which belongs to Titian. With all his lively feeling for grand and beautiful lines, and for a corresponding arrangement of architecture, Annibale's landscapes still bear the stamp of spirited scene-paintings. Many of this description are in the Doria palace at Rome, and a very admirable picture of energetic effect and poetical composition is in the Museum at Berlin. Two beautiful landscapes are in the National Gallery at London. Two others, one of which directly recalls Paul Brill, are at Castle Howard. Genre pictures by Annibale also exist. The "Greedy Eater" in the Colonna palace at Rome, and another in the Uffizj gallery at Naples, are interesting proofs of the humorous vigour of which this painter was capable.

A number of important artists sprang from the school of the Carracci, with various peculiarities of style, and in some respects they surpassed their masters. The most celebrated are the following.

Domenico Zampieri, surnamed Domenichino[1] (1581–1641), a painter in whose works, more than in those of any other artist of the time, we occasionally observe the pure artlessness, the free conception of nature, which were peculiar to the contemporaries of Raphael. Even Domenichino, on the whole, and in essentials, could never cast aside the trammels of his school; this indeed was to be the less expected, as he does not appear to have been gifted with a particularly rich fancy. He frequently made use of the compositions of other artists,—as in his celebrated picture of the Communion of St. Jerome, now in the Vatican—in which we find a close imitation of the same subject by Agostino Carracci. The imitation is not, however, servile, and there is an interesting individuality in several of the heads. It was seldom that he succeeded perfectly in the higher subjects of inspiration. Among his best specimens are the Four Evangelists, in the pendentives of the cupola of S. Andrea della Valle at Rome—wonderful compositions, in which the group of the St. John, surrounded with angels, constitutes one of the finest efforts we know of this kind. In other historical pictures Domenichino is often cold and studied, especially in the principal subject, while, on the other hand, the subordinate persons have much grace, and a noble character of beauty. Of this the two frescoes in S. Luigi at Rome, from the life of St. Cecilia, are striking examples. It is not the Saint herself, bestowing her goods from a balcony, who constitutes the chief subject, but the masterly group of poor people struggling for them below. The same may be said of the Death of the Saint, where the admiration and grief of the bystanders are inimitable. Also of the Scourging of St. Andrew, in the chapel of that saint, next S. Gregorio, on Monte Celio at Rome; here a group of women, thrust back by the executioners, is of the highest beauty. The most beautiful works are at Fano, in a chapel of the Duomo; they represent scenes from the life of the Virgin, painted in fresco. They have suffered from the smoke, when part of the church was burnt; but we can perceive, in the Visit of Mary to Elizabeth—the best-preserved picture—a feeling for beauty, a purity, candour, and mildness of expres-

[1] Outlines in Landon, Vies et Œuvres, etc., t. Domenichino.



THE COMMUNION OF ST. JEROME; an oil painting by Domenichino, in the Vatican Picture Gallery.

sion, such as are perhaps not to be met with in any of his other works. There are many beautiful parts in the frescoes, from the history of St. Nilus, which Domenichino painted at Grottaferrata,[1] near Rome, and likewise in those of S. Andrea della Valle, at Rome, particularly the historical scenes on the ceiling of the tribune: they are not, however, free from the faults above mentioned. His great altar-pictures, selected and brought together in the Gallery of Bologna, contain little more than theatrical attitudes. The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian in S. M. degli Angeli, at Rome, is deficient in conception, and altogether in subject lies beyond the sphere of this master. At this time pictures of martyrdom, in which Raphael and his times were so sparing, came greatly into vogue; painters and patrons sought for passionate emotion, and these subjects supplied them with plentiful food.

Another of Domenichino's best works, an oil-painting in the Borghese Gallery in Rome, represents Diana and her Nymphs, some of whom are shooting at a mark with arrows, others are bathing—a very pleasing composition, peculiarly fine in its lines, and full of characteristic movement; but even here the expression of the faces is not equally natural throughout. A beautiful and naïve picture by this master, a guardian Angel defending his charge, a fine, splendid boy, from Satan, is in the Studj Gallery at Naples. The half-length figure of St. John, looking upwards in inspiration, well known by Müller's engraving, though this is not quite true to the original, is in Prince Narischkin's collection at Petersburg. Another, not less admirable, is at Castle Howard. A fine St. Sebastian, with pious women dressing his wounds, somewhat recalling the Venetian manner, is in the Städel Institution at Frankfort.

Like Annibale Carracci, Domenichino was invited to Naples; like him too he was persecuted by the Neapolitan painters, who would tolerate no strangers. Of his works in Naples the most important are in the chapel of the Tesoro in the Duomo. He died before their completion—it is suspected, by poison. Domenichino was also an excellent landscape-painter. The

[1] Picturæ Domenici Zampierii quæ extant in Sacello sacræ ædi Chryptoferratensi adjuncto. Romæ, 1762.

character of his landscapes, like that of Annibale Carracci's, is decorative; but it is united in a happy manner with warmth of colour, and a cheerful, lively feeling. Excellent works of the kind are in the Villa Ludovisi and in the Doria Gallery in Rome, in the Louvre, and in the National Gallery and Bridgewater Gallery in London.

Domenichino formed but few scholars; one of them, Giambattista Passeri, is one of the most esteemed writers on the history of Italian painting.

Francesco Albani (1578–1660).[1] Elegance is in one word the characteristic of this painter. He delights in cheerful subjects, in which a playful fancy can expatiate, such as scenes and figures from ancient mythology—above all, Venus and her companions, smiling landscapes, and hosts of charming *amorini*, who surround the principal groups or even form the subject of the picture. But his works, both landscape and figures, have throughout a merely decorative character; their elegance seldom rises to grace of mind; their playfulness rarely bespeaks real enjoyment. Pictures of the class alluded to are not uncommon in galleries; in the Louvre, especially, there is a number of them. In the Borghese Gallery are the Four Seasons, which might just as well be called the four elements (only one of them by his own hand), with others in the Colonna palace. In the Verospi palace (now the Torlonia palace) are some very pleasing frescoes of an allegorical-mythological nature, still preserved on the ceilings of the Loggia, on the first story. Religious subjects occur less frequently; but in these (some are in the Gallery of Bologna), if not more profound, he appears more skilful, and is tolerably free from exaggeration and affectation. One of his most graceful and frequently repeated compositions is the Infant Christ sleeping on the Cross.

Albani formed various scholars at Bologna and at Rome. The best of these are:—Giovanni Battista Mola, a Frenchman, an unaffected painter, by whom there are some good portraits; Pier Francesco Mola, from the vicinity of Como, excellent in historical pictures, and in single figures, especially as respects colour: his landscapes, of a Biblical and mytho-

[1] Outlines in Landon, Vies et Œuvres, etc., t. Albani.

logical import, are grandly composed, and are admirable in effect of light and atmosphere, and especially in glowing evening scenes. Carlo Cignani, an artist of no great importance, characterized by a graceful but superficial style: one of his pictures, Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, is in the Dresden Gallery; an enormous Assumption of the Virgin is also in the Munich Gallery. Andrea Sacchi, the cleverest of the school: a picture by him (an excellent work of its kind), representing S. Romualdo among the Friars of his Order, is in the Vatican: it hardly deserves the epithet grand, but contains some noble figures in well-managed white drapery; a Miracle by St. Gregory, in the same gallery, is trivial in invention, but of a luminous effect of colour: other works of his are very inferior. Carlo Maratti, a scholar of Sacchi, flourished about the end of the seventeenth century—an artist of limited ability, whose works exhibit an insipid striving after ideal beauty—he may be called an inferior Guido. The absence of expression and meaning, which is the characteristic of his contemporaries of the end of the seventeenth century, is at all events replaced in his pictures by great study of composition. His real reputation in the history of Art is founded on the care with which he watched over Raphael's frescoes in Rome and superintended their restoration.

Guido Reni (1575–1642).[1] This artist was gifted with a refined feeling for beauty, both in form and grouping. In a freer period of Art he would probably have attained the highest excellence, but it is precisely in his works that the restraint of his age is most apparent. His *ideal* consisted not so much in an exalted and purified conception of beautiful nature, as in an unmeaning, empty abstraction, devoid of individual life and personal interest. In the beauty of his forms, of the heads particularly (which are mostly copied from celebrated antiques, for example, the Niobes), and in his grouping, we perceive the cold calculation of the understanding, and it is but seldom that a spontaneous feeling makes its way. The progressive development of Guido was singular in its kind, for its period was marked by works very dissimilar in style. Those of his early time have an imposing, almost

[1] Outlines in Landon, Vies et Œuvres, etc., t. Guido.

violent character: grand, powerful figures, majestically arranged, and dark shadows, resembling the manner of the *Naturalisti*, particularly of Caravaggio, of whom we shall presently speak. Among these the Crucifixion of St. Peter, now in the Vatican, is quoted as having been painted in imitation of Caravaggio; it has the heavy, powerful forms of that master, but wants the passionate feeling which sustains such subjects—it is a martyrdom and nothing more—it might pass for an enormous and horrible *genre* picture. Some of the best pictures in the gallery at Bologna belong to this class. A large picture called the Madonna della Pietà may be first mentioned: in the upper part is the body of Christ, laid on a tapestry, the Mater Dolorosa and two weeping angels at the sides; underneath are the patron saints of Bologna: these have less merit. Still more grand is the Crucifixion: the Madonna and St. John are beside the Cross: the Virgin is a figure of solemn beauty — one of Guido's finest and most dignified creations. A third very celebrated picture at Bologna is the Massacre of the Innocents: the female figures are beautiful, and the composition is very animated, but the feeling for mere abstract beauty is here very apparent. We pass over other works of this kind, some of them very celebrated, but really of less excellence, and merely mention in addition a picture in the Berlin Museum representing the two hermits, St. Paul and St. Anthony; they are powerful figures, and might be called true heroes of the desert.

At a subsequent time this fondness for the powerful became moderated, and a more simple and natural style of imitation succeeded, but there are few examples extant of this happy period of transition. Guido's best picture — unfortunately an unfinished one—belongs to this time; it is in the choir of S. Martino at Naples, whither the painter was invited; but, like other artists, he was driven away by the jealousy of the Neapolitans. The subject is the Nativity: in the figures of the shepherds and women, who come to worship, there is a beauty and artlessness such as are not to be found in any other of his works. A second excellent specimen is the large painting on the ceiling of the garden pavilion of the Rospigliosi palace at Rome: Aurora precedes Phœbus, whose chariot is drawn

PHŒBUS AND AURORA; a fresco by Guido Reni, in a pavilion of the Rospigliosi Palace at Rome.

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by white [and piebald] horses, while the Hours advance in rapid flight. Among the latter are some graceful figures in beautiful action; the whole is brilliantly coloured. A third, and highly pleasing work, apparently of this, his best time, is the fresco in the apsis of the Cappella S. Silvia, near S. Gregorio, at Rome; it represents a concert of angels above a balustrade adorned with drapery, on which lie the music-books. In the centre are three naked children singing, and on each side the charming figures of full-grown angels with trumpets, violoncellos, flutes, and tambourines. Some of them are whispering playfully together; others are looking curiously down: above is the First Person of the Trinity, in the act of benediction. The whole picture is imbued with a glow of youthful animation and beauty, which reminds us of the best times of Italian art. Also another fresco, in the neighbouring Cappella S. Andrea, is of high merit—St. Andrew, on his way to execution, sees the cross awaiting him in the distance, and falls upon his knees in adoration; the executioners and spectators regard him with astonishment. The artist's transition to a less pleasing manner is seen in a picture of which there are numerous repetitions (at Rome in the Gallery of the Capitol, at Schleissheim, in the Museum of Berlin, &c.): it represents Fortune as a naked female figure, sweeping over the globe, while a genius endeavours to hold her back by her veil and hair. Here we may also mention the decoration of the sacramental chapel in the cathedral at Ravenna. There is an excellent Glory in the cupola, and the Gathering of Manna, over the altar.

Guido's works, during this transition, are distinguished by an agreeable warmth of colour. Those of a later period are of a pale silvery grey; in these the insipid ideality, before alluded to, exhibits itself more and more, and approaches its greatest degeneracy, viz., a vapid generalization without character—an empty, ordinary kind of grace. Perhaps the best of this class is the famous Assumption of the Virgin, in the gallery at Munich; one of the angels, for example, who supports the Madonna, is remarkable for its delicacy and grace. A more celebrated picture in the Gallery of Bologna has, in reality, less merit; it represents a Madonna in a glory

of angels, with the patron-saints of Bologna underneath; the picture is called "Il Pallione" (the Church Standard), from having been originally used in processions. In the latter part of his life Guido often painted with careless haste; he had given himself up to play, and sought to retrieve his immense losses by raising money as rapidly and easily as he could. At this time chiefly were painted the numerous Madonnas, Cleopatras, Sibyls, &c., which are to be found in every gallery.[1] Better specimens of this kind are in the Spada Gallery, at Rome; the best is perhaps the Andromeda, in the Rospigliosi Summer-house. A large number of his works, of various periods, are in the Louvre. A very beautiful Madonna, with the Sleeping Child, executed with greater care and severity than usual, is in the palace of the Quirinal. In the same palace, serving for the altar-piece of the Pope's private chapel, is a Madonna with a glory of angels.

Guido formed a great number of scholars, part of whom imitated his later manner. Among these are Semenza, Gessi, Domenico Canuti, Guido Cagnacci. The best are Simone Cantarini and Gio. Andrea Sirani, whose daughter and scholar, Elisabetta Sirani, also distinguished herself in this style.

Gio. Francesco Barbieri, surnamed Guercino da Cento (1590–1666),[2] although not immediately belonging to the school of the Carracci, or having remained in it but a short time, nevertheless decidedly followed the same general style. The progress of his development may be compared to that of Guido Reni; but he is distinguished from that master by the expression of a livelier feeling, while Guido rather follows his own ideal beauty. In the early works of Guercino we find the same power and solidity, the same depth of shadow, but already tempered by a certain sweetness, and by an admirable chiaroscuro. There are two excellent pictures of this class in the Gallery of Bologna—St. William of Aquitaine assuming the garb of a monk, and the Virgin appearing to St. Bruno.

[1] [This must be understood of the inferior repetitions of these subjects, for some of this class are among Guido's most careful and pleasing productions.—Ed.]

[2] Jac. Aless. Calvi, Notizia della Vita e delle Opere di Gio. Franc. Barbieri detto il Guercino da Cento. Bologna, 1808.

Also, in the Spada Gallery at Rome, Dido's Last Moments—a large picture, full of figures. The expression of sorrow and passion in Dido and her attendants is of the utmost power, the colouring glowing and deep. St. Petronilla, in the Gallery of the Capitol, is of a more superficial character, but painted in a masterly manner. St. Peter raising Tabitha, in the Pitti Palace, though of smaller dimensions, is a chef-d'œuvre. A Madonna in the clouds, adored by several saints, is in the Louvre. The Incredulity of Thomas, in the gallery of the Vatican, is also a distinguished work; the profile of the Saviour especially is very noble in expression. Among other good paintings of this kind may be mentioned the Prophets and Sibyls in the cupola of the Cathedral of Piacenza, and the Aurora, in a small garden pavilion of the Villa Ludovisi, at Rome. The last-named works, with their glowing colouring, combined with broad and dark masses of shadow, almost attain the effect of oil paintings.

At a later period Guercino, like Guido, adopted a softer style, in which he produced a fascinating effect by a delicate combination of colours. His works of this time have a certain sentimental character, which in some instances is developed with peculiar grace. Among the best are the Dismissal of Hagar, in the gallery at Milan, and a Sibyl in the Tribune at Florence; also several pictures in the Louvre and in English galleries. A splendid Cleopatra is in the Brignole Palace at Genoa. But in his later works the same insipidity observable in Guido frequently appears; a repulsive mannerism takes the place of sentiment, and the colouring is pale and indistinctly washy. Guercino also practised landscape-painting, and acquired in this department a beautiful and rich style of cŏlouring.

Several painters of the Gennari family, among whom Benedetto was the most remarkable, were scholars and imitators of Guercino.

Giovanni Lanfranco (1581–1647). In the hands of this painter the art again degenerates to a mere mechanism, an effort to produce effect by dexterity and superficial means: abrupt contrasts of light and shade; grouping according to school precepts rather than according to the nature of the

subject; fore-shortenings without necessity, merely to make a display of drawing; countenances which, notwithstanding the tension of every feature, express nothing: these are the elements of Lanfranco's art. Even the study of nature is neglected, and the severity and solidity of the Carracci begin to disappear—the sole merit of a facile and cheerful colour must be excepted. Yet Lanfranco succeeded better than perhaps any other artist of the school: many considerable cupola-paintings were executed by him; for example, those of S. Andrea della Valle in Rome; and those in the Tesoro at Naples, where he alone successfully maintained his position against the Neapolitan artists. Where the subject permitted of a naturalistic conception he is generally the most successful. His St. Louis feeding the Poor, in the Academy at Venice, is a good picture of this kind; also the Liberation of St. Peter, in the Colonna palace at Rome. On the other hand, his St. Cecilia, in the Barberini palace, with her bold expression and vulgar action, may serve as a specimen of this artist's worst style.

The following are among the less celebrated scholars of the Carracci. Alessandro Tiarini, chiefly distinguished by clever execution: many of his best pictures are in the gallery of Bologna.—Lionello Spada, a powerful painter, who happily combined the more dignified conception of the Carracci with the vigour and truth of Caravaggio. Giacomo Cavedone, also a very able painter: there is an excellent picture by him in the same gallery.—In addition to these may be mentioned the landscape-painter Francesco Grimaldi, who imitated the decorative style already spoken of as characterizing the landscapes of Annibale. There is a series of pictures by him in the Borghese gallery at Rome: a good specimen is also to be seen in the Berlin Museum.—The fruit-painter, Il Gobbo da' Frutti (the Hunchback of Cortona), properly speaking Pietro Paolo Bonzi: large and excellent fruit pictures by him are at Alton Towers.

Bartolommeo Schedone of Modena, who died at an early age in 1615, is also said to have formed his style under the influence of this school. In his earlier works the study of Correggio is chiefly apparent, but the sharpness and severity

of Schedone form an unfavourable contrast to the refined style of that master. He is more pleasing in other works which are independent of this influence, and which are characterized by a straightforward imitation of nature in the manner of the *Naturalisti*. Several interesting pictures by Schedone are in the Museum at Naples, where indeed most of his works are collected: two, representing the distribution of alms to the poor, are especially worthy of notice.

Gio. Battista Salvi, surnamed Sassoferrato from his birthplace (1605–1685), is also said to have been formed by scholars of the Carracci, and chiefly, it is supposed, by Domenichino. He is, however, a tolerably independent artist, free from the *ideal* feebleness and emptiness of the later followers of the Carracci. He rather imitated, and not without success, the older masters of the beginning of the sixteenth century, and has indeed a certain affinity with them in his peculiar, but not always unaffected, gentleness of mien. We have already mentioned his free copies after Raphael's Madonna with the Pink (p. 341), and Titian's picture of the Three Ages. He copied also from Pietro Perugino, a master who, in those times, was somewhat looked down upon. Pictures of this kind, with an excellent copy of Raphael's Entombment, are in S. Pietro at Perugia. His own original pictures have no particular depth, but are smooth, pleasing, and often of great sweetness of expression, which occasionally degenerates into sentimentality. The Madonna and Child were his constant subject; in some of these pictures he appears to great advantage; every large gallery possesses one or more of them. The Holy Family also, in their domestic character, was a favourite subject of his, in his treatment of which he appears to have been the forerunner of the modern romantic school; for example, in a picture of this kind, in the Studj Gallery at Naples, the Madonna is represented sewing, Joseph planing wood, and the youthful Christ cleaning the room. His most celebrated picture is the Madonna del Rosario, in S. Sabina at Rome. The expression of St. Domenick is of a high order of pathos. Sassoferrato finished his pictures, as his tendency would lead us to expect, with great care and minuteness.

Other Eclectic schools appeared in Italy simultaneously

with the school of the Carracci. That of the Campi, for example, at Cremona, which flourished in the middle and toward the end of the sixteenth century. The head of this school is Giulio Campi (1500–1572): he was originally taught by Giulio Romano, but afterwards followed the manner of several of the great masters Giulio educated his brother Antonio, a more mannered artist, and Bernardino Campi, another relative, who is the most important master of this school. His works are principally to be found in Cremona. A Pietà, in the Louvre, shows the study of Raphael in the noble form of the Virgin, and of Correggio in the warmth of the colouring, though it is tasteless in composition. Sofonisba Anguisciola was his scholar: Count Raczynski of Berlin possesses an excellent family picture by her.

A third Eclectic school is that of the Procaccini at Milan; it rose to greater importance than that of the Campi, owing to the patronage of the Borromeo family. Its founder, Ercole Procaccini (1520–1590), was born and educated at Bologna, and flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century. His works are not very extraordinary, but they evince a carefulness and industry which perhaps preserved him from the degenerate mannerism of the time, and well fitted him for the office of a teacher. His best scholar was his son Camillo, who flourished about the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the works of this artist we find, together with the study of the older masters, a particular and sometimes successful imitation of Correggio and Parmigianino, united with a clever conception of nature. He is, however, very unequal: a great facility in conception and execution led him into frequent abuse of his talents, particularly in the works which he executed out of Milan. His better pictures are in the churches and galleries of that city; in these a peculiar gentleness occasionally reminds us of the manner of Sassoferrato. A Madonna and Child, in S. Maria del Carmine, and an Adoration of the Kings, in the Brera, both deserve notice. Giulio Cesare Procaccini, the brother of Camillo, applied himself also to the imitation of Correggio, and in small cabinet pictures not without success. There is a good specimen in the Berlin Museum—the Angel appearing to Joseph in a Dream; other

works by him are at Milan. This artist too is very unequal, and is frequently mannered.

Of the numerous descendants of the school of Procaccini the most distinguished is Giovanni Battista Crespi, surnamed Il Cerano from his birth-place (1557–1653). This artist, though not free from mannerism, is powerful and grand. There are excellent pictures by him in the Brera at Milan, and a very clever one in the Museum of Berlin.—His son and scholar, Daniel Crespi, is a less distinguished artist, but there is a series of clever portraits by him in S. Maria della Passione at Milan.—Enea Salmeggia, surnamed Il Talpino, also belongs to the school of the Procaccini, having first studied with the Campi. He deserves notice from his peculiarly simple dignity and beautiful reminiscences of Correggio and Leonardo da Vinci. Several of his pictures are in the Milan gallery. The school afterwards degenerated into a superficial manner, with a total want of character. To this period belongs Ercole Procaccini the younger.

The efforts of Baroccio at Rome to get up a certain eclectic opposition to the mannerism of the day we have already noticed (p. 478); but he and his Roman scholars became mannerists themselves in turn. Some Florentines who joined his school towards the end of the sixteenth century were, however, more successful, and finally developed an eclectic style of their own. This late Florentine school is distinguished by great richness of colouring, and by a successful representation of earthly beauty. But its merits are confined to single figures; in composition it rarely attains any excellence.

The most important follower of Baroccio is the Florentine Ludovico Cardi da Cigoli (1559–1613); he is distinguished by a beautiful, warm colouring, but in expression frequently degenerates into extreme sentimentality or exaggerated passion. The gallery of the Uffizj at Florence possesses many of his works. One of the most important, the Martyrdom of St. Stephen, is as excellent in colouring as it is violent and confused in action and expression. He frequently painted the subject of St. Francis: the best is in the Pitti palace, where there is also a Christ walking on the sea with Peter, and a

good Ecce Homo.[1] A beautiful little picture of the Flight into Egypt is in the Louvre. Among his scholars are Gregorio Pagani, Domenico da Passignano, Antonio Biliverti (properly speaking Bilevelt of Maestricht), by whom there is a charming picture of the young and old Tobit with the angel, in the Pitti palace, and many others. Domenico Feti, the Roman, who inclines to the manner of the *Naturalisti*, has left a number of good, small, genre pictures, of Biblical subjects; also a mourning figure of the most excellent expression—in the Louvre it is designated as a Magdalen—in the Academy at Venice as "Melancholy." A most animated and effective specimen of this painter is at Castle Howard;[2] several are in the Dresden Gallery.

Cristofano Allori, a Florentine, son of Alessandro Allori, already mentioned, belongs to the same general school (1577–1621). He is one of the best artists of his time, and in some works rises far above the confined aim of his contemporaries, displaying a noble originality. His most finished picture is in the Pitti palace, and represents Judith with the head of Holofernes; she is a beautiful and splendidly attired woman, with a grand, enthusiastic expression. The countenance is wonderfully fine and Medusa-like, and conveys all that the loftiest poetry can express in the character of Judith. In the head of Holofernes it is said that the artist has represented his own portrait, and that of his proud mistress in the Judith. There are several repetitions of this picture: one, of the same size, is in the Imperial gallery at Vienna: a second, of small dimensions, very delicately executed, is in the Uffizj at Florence. Other works by the same artist, some of them of great merit, are to be met with in Florence, for example in the Uffizj. In the Louvre there is an animated and truthful historical picture—Isabella of Milan pleading with Charles VIII. for peace for her father. Mr. Wells's collection also contained a noble and grandly-conceived St. Cecilia, little inferior to his Judith, there attributed to Domenichino. Good portraits by this master often occur.

[1] [The Ecce Homo in the Pitti Gallery is a production of such excellence, that it might have warranted a higher general eulogy on the artist.—Ed.]

[2] [A portrait, probably that of the painter. See Waagen, Kunstwerke, &c., in England, vol. ii. p. 414.—Ed.]

A large picture by Jacobo (Chimenti) da Empoli (1554–1640) is in the Uffizj Gallery; in noble conception and truth and glow of colour it reminds us of the best old Florentine masters. A saint, in magisterial costume, is seated on a throne, on each side the donor's family. In the same gallery is a representation of the First Person of the Trinity creating Adam. A picture by Matteo Rosselli (1578–1650) is in the Pitti palace; it represents the Triumph of David, and is distinguished by a freshness of life and beauty which entitle it to be classed with the happiest of Domenichino's creations. Matteo formed a numerous school. Giovanni di S. Giovanni (called Manozzi), Baldassare Franceschini (Volterranno giovane), and Francesco Furini, are among the best of his followers. These artists, if unequal to their master, have left very pleasing works, in one department at least, viz., portrait-painting. There is an excellent Hunting-party by Giovanni in the Pitti palace; but there is also a tasteless picture by the same artist in the Uffizj, representing Venus arranging Cupid's hair with a comb. Five good frescoes of a naturalistic character are in the cloister near Ognissanti at Florence.

Carlo Dolce (1616–1686), also from the school of Matteo Rosselli, is about equal in merit to his contemporary Sassoferrato. He also limited himself to the confined circle of Madonnas and saints, and in these subjects has displayed a peculiar gentleness, grace, and delicacy. He is distinguished from Sassoferrato by a greater degree of sentimentality, which is sometimes pleasing, but it frequently degenerates into insipidity and affectation. His works are not rare in galleries: among the best are a Madonna and Child in the Pitti palace; a St. Cecilia in the Dresden Gallery (several repetitions are in other places); a St. John the Evangelist is in the Berlin Museum. Carlo Dolce repeats himself often, and introduces the same motive in various forms—as a Madonna, as a Magdalen, as St. Apollonia, &c. Of his historical pictures we know only one of importance—St. Andrew praying by the Cross before his Execution, inscribed 1646, in the Pitti palace.[1] The deep devotion of the saint is finely contrasted with the

[1] [A similar picture by Carlo Dolce is in the collection of the Earl of Ashburnham.—Ed.]

gestures of the executioners. The painting is solid, and the hands, as in all Carlo Dolce's pictures, of the most admirable form. On the other hand, Diogenes with his Lantern, in the same gallery, shows how little the painter had a turn for humorous subjects.

In the course of the seventeenth century a new mannerism hastened the decay of the now nearly extinct influence of the Eclectic school. The principal founder of this pernicious style, which chiefly aimed at filling space with the least cost of labour, was Pietro Berettini da Cortona (1596–1669). The intrinsic meaning of his subjects he altogether disregarded: even his thorough knowledge of nature he turned to no purpose, but contented himself with dazzling and superficial effects, with contrasts of masses, florid colouring and violent lights. In spite of this he scarcely succeeds in concealing his own great natural talents, and even in his most mannered works we recognise a great inventive power. He lived and worked at Florence and Rome: the allegorical paintings on the ceiling of a large saloon of the Palazzo Barberini in Rome are his chief works.[1] In both cities he left a great number of scholars, who faithfully adhered to his style, and thus dictated the taste of the eighteenth century. We shall return to them.

Contemporary with this corruption of art, we remark a general decline of Italian power in every department—politics, church, and literature.

CHAPTER II.

THE NATURALISTI.

The hostility of the *Naturalisti* to the Eclectics, particularly to the school of the Carracci, has already been alluded to. It manifested itself not only by means of the pencil, but, as we have seen, had recourse to poison and the dagger. The *Naturalisti* were so called from their predilection for common

[1] Barberinæ aulæ fornix Romæ eq. Petri Berettini Cortonensis picturis admirandus. J. J. de Rubeis ed.

nature—for direct imitation. But this taste does not appear to have been merely accidental with them, as a consequence of any particular mania for originality; on the contrary, it is founded on a peculiar feeling, which displayed itself in full force (and it must be confessed too exclusively) for the first time in their works. Passion is the predominant inspiring principle in their representations. The forms which they bring before us are not those of nature in a refined state, like those of the great masters in the beginning of the sixteenth century —a nature in which beauty is the evidence of moral harmony, and the feelings of love or hatred seem the indications of a godlike energy. Their figures want alike this physical elevation and this divine impulse—they are given up to demons of earth; and even when no animated scene is represented, the spectator feels that they are capable of the wildest excitement. But in thus entirely devoting themselves to this one aim, and in rejecting the tame rational *ideal* of their contemporaries, the *Naturalisti* carried their peculiar style of Art to a perfection which in its effect on the feelings of the spectator far surpasses most of the works of the Eclectics. Their style of imitation, when displayed in all its exclusiveness, might be called *the poetry of the repulsive*. Hence their imitation of common nature as connected with the desires of sense; hence the sharp, abrupt lights and dark shadows (particularly the dark backgrounds) which are employed in their works.

The chief master of this style is Michelangelo Amerighi da Caravaggio (1569–1609), an artist whose wild passions and tempestuous life were the counterpart of his pictures. He resided principally in Rome, but at a later period went to Naples, Malta, and Sicily. Notwithstanding his vulgarity of conception, his works display a peculiar breadth, and, to a certain extent, even a tragic pathos, which is especially assisted by the grand lines of his draperies. It is not only his vividly falling and confined lights, or the tints of his carnations, borrowed, as is supposed, from Giorgione, or the coarse superficialities of the Naturalistic school, which account for the great effect which his pictures produce, but it is a characteristic and original poetry of feeling of which all this is the expression, indicating a powerful nature, and one which, in spite of all

impurity, claims a certain kindred with that of the great Michael Angelo himself. Still it is true that his manner of transforming sacred subjects into scenes of earthly passion was carried too far, even for those times, so that several of his pictures were obliged to be expelled from the altars they occupied. The paintings on the walls of a chapel in S. Luigi de' Francesi at Rome belong to his most comprehensive works. The Martyrdom of St. Matthew, with the angel with a palm branch squatting upon a cloud, and a boy running away, screaming, though highly animated, is an offensive production; on the other hand, the Calling of the Apostle may be considered as a *genre*-picture of grand characteristic figures; for instance, those of the money-changers and publican at the table; some of them counting money, others looking up astonished at the entrance of the Saviour. The most celebrated work of this painter is an Entombment of Christ in the Vatican; a picture certainly wanting in all the characteristics of holy sublimity, but nevertheless full of solemnity, only perhaps too like the funeral ceremony of a gipsy chief. There is, however, room, even within these limits, for the highest mastery of representation, and for the most striking expression. A figure of such natural sorrow as the Virgin, who is represented exhausted with weeping, with her trembling, out-stretched hands, has seldom been painted. Even as mother of a gipsy chief, she is dignified and touching. The Holy Family, remarkable for its gigantic style, in the Borghese gallery in Rome, is also a grand picture, but it again has only the air of a wild gipsy *ménage*. This want of harmony between the theme and its treatment is of course no longer striking where the subject is not of a sacred character. Caravaggio succeeds best in scenes of sorcery, murder, midnight treachery, &c. One of his best pictures of this kind is the Cheating Gamester, of which there are many repetitions; the best is in the Sciarra palace in Rome. Another chef-d'œuvre of this kind is in the gallery of the Capitol; it represents a female soothsayer, telling the fortune of a youth from his hand, and looking at him at the same time with a sensual expression. Both these motives are united in a picture in the Manfrini gallery at Venice. Single figures of his also

have a great charm of a *genre* kind; for instance, Geometry (a ragged girl, smiling, as she plays with a pair of compasses), in the Spada palace at Rome. To this class also belongs a masterly picture in the Berlin Museum, representing Earthly Love: a boy with eagle's wings, daring and reckless in character and action, rising from his couch, tramples books, musical instruments, a laurel-wreath, and other attributes of the kind, under his feet. An old woman winding thread, with a young woman sewing at her side, have, by the nimbus round their heads (though it is a question if it be not subsequently added), assumed the appearance of a St. Anna and the Virgin. In similar manner a pretty girl sitting sorrowfully next a casket of jewels (in the Doria palace) is made to represent a Magdalen. Among his portraits there is one in the Berlin Museum, and another, Vignacourt, the Grand Master of Malta, in the Louvre, both of the finest warmth of colouring, and of striking effect.[1]

Caravaggio had several scholars and followers: of these two Frenchmen are particularly distinguished—Moses Valentin and Simon Vouet. The Martyrdom of St. Processus and St. Martinianus in the Vatican (also executed in St. Peter's in mosaic) is by the former; an unimportant and bad picture. On the other hand, a large Beheading of St. John, in the Sciarra gallery, is an excellent historical picture of striking truth. Joseph interpreting Dreams, in the Borghese gallery, is particularly distinguished for fine colouring in the manner of Guercino. Carlo Saraceno, a Venetian, was also a follower of Caravaggio, without entirely throwing off the influence of his native school. Among his pictures in S. Maria dell' Anima at Rome, that representing the miracle of S. Bruno is remarkable for a beautiful effect of colour and a mild grace, otherwise rare in the school of Caravaggio. Another picture of great beauty (in the Manfrini gallery at Venice) is a Judith looking thoughtfully out of the picture, as she lowers the head of Holofernes into a cloth which her old servant, in the greatest astonishment, holds extended with her teeth and her right hand.

[1] [The Beheading of St. John, in the Cathedral at Malta, is one of Caravaggio's masterworks.—Ed.]

The Naturalisti appeared in their greatest strength in Naples, where they perseveringly opposed the followers of the Carracci. This appears to have been volcanic ground, for it was in this very locality predestined to be the scene of the triumphs of this school that Polidoro da Caravaggio (see p. 474) first broke out into the wildest naturalism. At their head was Giuseppe Ribera, a Spaniard, hence called Lo Spagnoletto (1593–1656). He formed his style chiefly after Caravaggio; but in his earlier works we find, with many reminiscences of the Spanish school, a successful study of Correggio and the great Venetian masters: to these studies he is indebted for his peculiar vivacity of colour, even in his later works. His Deposition from the Cross (the body of Christ mourned by the Marys and disciples), in the sacristy of S. Martino at Naples, is a most masterly production, and rivals the best specimens of Italian Art. The Madonna, who kneels behind the body of her Son, is strikingly beautiful. In the choir of the same church there is a Last Supper by Spagnoletto, much in the manner of Paul Veronese, and containing many excellent parts; the figure of Christ is especially successful. A few other works of this, his best period, are also preserved at Naples. His great Adoration of the Shepherds, though a late picture (1650), may, for its noble conception, be mentioned here. In general, however, his pictures exhibit a wild, extravagant fancy; this is apparent in his numerous half-figures of anchorites, prophets, philosophers—all angular, bony figures—and still more in his large historical pictures. In these he delights in the most horrible subjects—executions, tortures, martyrdoms of all kinds. A very masterly picture of this kind, representing the preparation for the martyrdom of St. Bartholomew, is in the Berlin Museum; in this instance the spectator feels a shuddering interest, while pictures by the master elsewhere, which represent the Saint half flayed, excite nothing but repugnance and disgust. Particularly unpleasant also, one and all, in spite of the greatest mastery of representation, are Ribera's mythological scenes: for instance, his Silenus in the Studj gallery at Naples; and his Venus lamenting over the body of Adonis in the Corsini gallery at Rome. In subjects of this kind, where either grandeur

and beauty, or cheerful humour, are indispensable, he was least likely to please. Many works, however, which bear the name of Spagnoletto in galleries, are by his scholars, who imitated his manner and repeatedly copied his productions.

Contemporary with Spagnoletto in Naples were a few artists who rather followed the manner of the Carracci, but were considerably influenced at the same time by the *Naturalisti*. To these belong Belisario Corenzio, a Greek, originally formed in Venice in the school of Tintoretto—and Giambattista Caracciolo: their works are frequent in Naples.

Massimo Stanzioni (1585–1656), a scholar of Caracciolo, appears to have formed his style from the works of Caravaggio and Spagnoletto, of whom we are reminded in the greater part of his pictures. But in some works he manifested a much nobler feeling than any of the masters of this style, particularly in his paintings in the chapel of St. Bruno in S. Martino[1] at Naples. In these we find an elevated beauty and repose, a noble simplicity and distinctness of line, united with such excellent colour, as are rarely to be met with in this period. Stanzioni was persecuted by the passionate Spagnoletto with not less bitterness than the foreign artists. He had painted, over the principal entrance of S. Martino, a Dead Christ between the Marys; the picture having become rather dark, Spagnoletto persuaded the monks to allow him to wash it, but injured it so seriously with a corrosive liquid, that Stanzioni refused to restore it, in order that this scandalous piece of treachery might be known to all. Stanzioni formed many scholars; but the best of them, Domenico Finoglia, Giuseppe Marullo, and others, rather inclined to the manner of Spagnoletto. There are numerous small wall-pictures by Finoglia in the lesser spaces of the Certosa of S. Martino at Naples. This splendid monastery, towering high above Naples, on the steep rock of S. Elmo, combines the greatest treasures of Neapolitan Art.

Among the less important *Naturalisti* of this time are

[1] The Carthusian convent of S. Martino (on St. Elmo at Naples), which we have already had frequent occasion to mention, contains the most valuable specimens of the Neapolitan school of the seventeenth century.

Mattia Preti (Il Cavaliere Calabrese), originally a scholar of Guercino; and the Genoese Bernardo Strozzi, surnamed Il Prete Genovese. The Neapolitan Andrea Vaccaro, a follower of Caravaggio's, sometimes attains, in his single figures of Saints, a simple grandeur and a beautiful expression. The Studj gallery at Naples contains a number of these.

From the school of Spagnoletto arose two artists, who introduced a peculiar style. These were Aniello Falcone and Salvator Rosa: the latter soon left his master and studied under Aniello, who was the first considerable painter of battle-pieces, and the founder of a large school. This school distinguished itself also in political history, for it took part in the insurrection of Masaniello against the Spaniards, as an organized band under the name of "La Compagnia della Morte." After the death of Masaniello it was dissolved. Aniello went to France, Salvator to Rome.

Salvator Rosa (1615–1673) displayed a remarkable versatility: he painted history, *genre*, and landscape, and was besides a poet and musician. Many of his works are in the Pitti palace at Florence, and in English galleries. In history he followed the style of the *Naturalisti*, and often treated it successfully. Some of his pictures of this class, it is true, want interest and importance, as, for instance, several in the Studj Gallery, and in the collection of the Prince of Salerno, at Naples; some are indeed merely academy figures, as the Prometheus in the Corsini palace, at Rome. Others, again, are impassioned and characteristic. The best of this kind is the Conspiracy of Catiline, in the Pitti palace, with figures taken immediately from the excitable Neapolitan life, dressed in old Roman costume. Among his single characteristic figures two pictures in the Grosvenor Gallery, Diogenes and Democritus, are distinguished: the last is placed in a scene of deep and dark solitude, surrounded with skeletons, statues, &c., of fantastic grandeur of effect. Salvator is very great in portrait; in this department also he followed the *Naturalisti*. The wild, gloomy portrait of a man in armour, in the Pitti palace, is almost comparable to Rembrandt. In battle pieces he improved on the manner of Aniello Falcone, and occa-

sionally produced excellent works of this kind. An admirable battle-piece, with an angry yellow light, is in the Louvre: an inferior one in the Pitti palace.

In landscape Salvator Rosa appears to have formed his style with tolerable independence. It was not till his later Florentine period that we fancy we trace the influence of Claude Lorraine. In some of his works appear the same ideal treatment, the same serenity of atmosphere and simple purity of line which are observable in Claude's pictures. A large and splendid coast scene of this kind is in the Colonna Gallery at Rome. In other pictures of this description, however (for instance, in two large, scene-like marine pictures, in the Pitti palace), we observe a certain air of constraint and insipidity: he displays more beauty and originality in wild mountain scenes, lonely defiles, and deep forests; but most of all in landscapes of smaller dimensions, where this fantastic conception of nature is more concentrated, and the whole seems to express as it were a single chord, a hint for the mind, a momentary feeling rather than the complete expression of a comprehensive idea. In these he usually introduces hermits, robbers, or wandering soldiers, who assist the general effect of the picture, and add to the impression of loneliness, desolation, and fear. (It is well known that Salvator himself in his youth was associated with bandits in the wildest part of Lower Italy.) There are excellent pictures of this kind in the public gallery of Augsburg. In other works again the landscape becomes subordinate, and the figures form the principal subject of the picture: in these the fantastic, poetic conception of the artist appears in all its originality. A Warrior doing Penance is one of his favourite subjects. A very beautiful specimen, of small size and excellent execution, was for sale at Carlsruhe in 1832. The scene was a desolate country: in the branches of a tree a wooden cross was erected; under it lay a warrior, extended on the ground, partly naked, but wearing his helmet and some detached plates of armour; his feet and hands bound so that the latter are raised towards the cross. Another excellent repetition, with several variations and somewhat larger, is in the gallery at Vienna. The so-called Selva de' Filosofi, in the Pitti palace, belongs to this

class. A small sea-piece, in the Berlin Museum, is also unique of its kind, as a representation of the wildest powers of nature: a fearful storm is raging on a steep rocky coast; a vessel is being carried by the waves upon the rocks, directly opposite the spectator.

Salvator Rosa formed two landscape-painters: Bartolommeo Torregiani, a Roman, who, like his master, sometimes reminds us of Claude; and the Neapolitan, Domenico Gargiuoli (Micco Spadaro), who also attempted small figures; many paintings by this artist are to be met with in Naples, namely, in the Studj Gallery. They are historically interesting as representations of contemporary events. The whole tragedy of Masaniello, and the plague of 1656, have found a true delineator in Spadaro.

A good Sicilian master of this time, Pietro Novelli, called Monrealese, may also be named here: he appears to fill up the space between the Spanish painters and Caravaggio. The Marriage at Cana, in the refectory of the Benedictines, at Monreale, is considered his best picture. There are many good portraits by him in Rome.

The style of *genre* and battle painting was also followed by some other artists of the time. Michael Angelo Cerquozzi (Michael Angelo delle Battaglie) (1602–1660) is highly distinguished in battle-pieces, and more particularly in scenes from low life, in the style of Peter van Laar (then enjoying great popularity in Rome). Not only in general *naïveté* and humour, but also in careful completeness, and in masterly treatment of colour, may he occasionally be put on a par with the best Netherlandish painters. It was not the beauties and prettinesses of Italian life, the gay costume, &c., which attracted him, but the tattered Lazzaroni, in their picturesque and harmless character—for the artist then little knew that painting could be used as a means of social incitement to sedition. An excellent picture by him, representing the entry of one of the popes into Rome, is in the Berlin Museum. Another, in the Spada palace at Rome, viz., the touching picture of the Dead Ass: a man is carrying away the saddle and turning once more to look at the faithful animal: an old woman has just wiped her eyes with her apron, a girl is

kneeling with a sorrowful mien. The Frenchman, Jacques Courtois, or Bourguignon (Jacopo Cortese, Borgognone) (1621–1671), one of the most celebrated of the battle-painters, was a scholar of Cerquozzi. His battle-pieces are often clever and animated, but very slight in execution. It must be remembered, however, that pictures by a number of his imitators bear his name. Two of his original battle-pieces are in the Borghese palace.

The energy of the Neapolitan artists of this period was not imitated by their successors, who chiefly followed the manner of Pietro da Cortona, and introduced a similar vicious style into Neapolitan Art. To these belongs one of the greatest geniuses of modern Art, the rapid painter Luca Giordano, surnamed Fa Presto (1632–1705). No painter ever made a worse use of extraordinary gifts. Beauty, character, dramatic life, glow of colouring, all occur from time to time in the most striking way in his pictures, but a slight and rapid mode of finish was all he cared for, and he sacrificed every other quality to it. In burlesquely treated subjects this perverse kind of self-injustice is less objectionable. For instance, we can look with delight at that colossal fresco in the church de' Gerolimini, at Naples, where Christ is driving the Lazzaroni-like buyers and sellers down the double steps: on the other hand, it is with a certain melancholy that we trace his high gifts in the ceiling-frescoes of S. Martino, and in the Judgment of Paris, in the Berlin Museum, and compare such specimens with those pictures which he executed by the dozen.

Among the Venetians of the seventeenth century we find much mannerism, together with the influence of foreign Art, yet the peculiar tendency of their school (generally modified by the style of the *Naturalisti* of the time) still predominated, and was the means of producing some meritorious works.

Jacopo Palma giovane (1544–1628), of whose works Venice is full, notwithstanding his mechanical manner, evinces much talent, and is sometimes beautiful in details, particularly in his heads. Some of his best pictures are in the palace of the Doge and in the Academy; many more are in the churches; a good Madonna with Saints is in S. Francesco della Vigna;

a St. Catherine Rescued from the Wheel, in S. M. de' Frari. Giovanni Contarini, a later artist, appears to be an imitator of Michael Angelo. His contemporary, Carlo Ridolfi, whose works are less mannered, distinguished himself as an historian of the Venetian school.

The most important artist of this school in the seventeenth century was Alessandro Varotari of Padua, surnamed Il Padovanino (1590-1650). Far from falling into the extravagance of Tintoretto's followers, Padovanino was attracted by his own innate feeling for beauty to the study of Titian. The spectator, however, feels, as in the instance of Cigoli and his fellow-artists, that this sense of beauty was something mannered and conscious, not perfectly artless, though far also from being merely coldly academic. In this respect a comparison between the female half-length figures of Padovanino, in the Academy at Venice, with Titian's pictures, is highly interesting. This collection contains also his principal work, the Marriage of Cana—partly in the manner of Paul Veronese, only that the prominence of beautiful single figures is here preferred to the sound, as it were, of one powerful common chord, as with Paul Veronese. The same beauty, with a noble expression of unearthly longing, is presented to us in the picture of a Saint in Deacon's Orders, in the moment of ecstacy, in the same gallery. Pietro Liberi, another Paduan, is a less pleasing artist. Alessandro Turchi, a Veronese, surnamed L'Orbetto, by the finish and grace of his pictures, occupies a not unimportant place among the artists of this period. In the same way as Padovanino reminds us of Cigoli and Allori, does L'Orbetto recall Matteo Rosselli: for instance, in his picture of the Fine Arts, in the Colonna palace at Rome. Other pictures by him are at Dresden.

We can only slightly touch upon the later fate of Italian art. With the close of the seventeenth century all independence of feeling had vanished from almost every school. One general level of style, partaking mostly of that of Pietro da Cortona, embraced, with few exceptions, the numerous and much-employed Italian artists of this period. To these we

may, without injustice, apply the term "scene-painters," not only because it was their chief aim in art to fill large spaces in the shortest possible time with the most striking and attractive effects, and that without reference either to their own gifts or to the true forms of nature, but also because they regarded the varieties of *genre*, still-life, and flower-painting, from a merely decorative point of view, in contradistinction to the Netherlandish painters who studied the nature of such things. These classes of art, therefore, scarcely ever attained their real development in Italy, and have to this day the appearance of a spurious kind of historical painting.

Not that this period, bad as it might be, was devoid of considerable talents and surprising technical power: we may cite among the scholars of Pietro da Cortona the sometimes truly pleasing Gianfranco Romanelli (died 1662) and Ciro Ferri (died 1689), as well as his imitator, Benedetto Luti (died 1724); among the scholars of Sacchi, Filippo Lauri (died 1694); among the Venetians, the mannered but not ungifted mannerist Pietro Vecchio, Carlo Lotti (properly Loth of Munich), scholar of Liberi (died 1698), Pietro Rotari of Verona (died 1762), with the occasionally happy imitator of Paul Veronese, Marco Ricci (died 1729); Gio. Batt. Tiepolo, an artist of fantastic imagination (died 1770), and Pietro Longhi, a genre painter (died 1762): finally, among the followers of Luca Giordano, Paolo de Matteis (died 1729), Seb. Conca (died 1764), and Francesco Solimena (died 1747).

As regards the other departments of painting, neither Gio. Benedetto Castiglione (died 1670) for still life and animal painting, nor Mario de' Fiori (died 1673) for flower painting, nor G. Paolo Panini (died 1764) for architectural painting, can be in any way compared with the contemporary Netherlandish masters in their walks of art. The most successful were the two architectural painters, Antonio Canale and his nephew Bernardo Belletto, known by the name of Canaletto. Their views of cities, particularly of Venice and her canals, are skilfully painted, and interest the spectator in various ways. Pictures of this kind are common.

CHAPTER III.

RECENT EFFORTS.

After the middle of the eighteenth century a desire for severer study again appeared amid the confusion of styles that divided Italian art. This desire was especially awakened by foreigners; by Winckelmann, who first felt and communicated the spirit of the antique in all its depth; and by Raphael Mengs, whose works exhibit a new form of eclecticism. This aim is most apparent in the works of Pompeo Batoni,[1] among which an altar-picture, representing the fall of Simon Magus, in S. Maria degli Angeli in Rome, deserves to be mentioned with honour.

But no important consequences followed this new impulse. Toward the close of the century, the French painter David was considered the first master of modern art, and the painters of Italy followed in the path he had opened. Numerous works appeared in the beginning of the nineteenth century, which evince the same predilection for the antique, and the same influence of the French stage—the circle in which the genius of David moved. Pietro Benvenuti, of Perugia, is the best of these artists: his Judith displaying the head of Holofernes to the assembled people (in the Duomo of Arezzo), his Pyrrhus killing Priam after the taking of Troy (in the Palazzo Corsini at Florence), are among the more meritorious works which may be said to have emanated from David's school. Single works also, by Andrea Appiani, exhibit a simple grandeur devoid of the theatrical character of the French school (frescoes in the imperial palace at Milan). Vincenzio Cammuccini was also one of the most celebrated masters of this style. But this taste, too, has passed away, and appears to have left no permanent result which can promote a new restoration of Italian art. In the exhibitions of modern productions, the traveller finds little to arrest his

[1] Cav. O. Boni, Elogio del Cav. Pompeo Batoni. Roma, 1787.

attention. Copies from the great works of former ages, views of the most celebrated classic landscapes, or now and then scenes illustrating the manners of the people, which the traveller carries to his home as remembrances of costume, form the far greater proportion of modern Italian productions, and are rather objects of commercial speculation than indications of a vital impulse in art. The few works which are skilfully painted, or informed with mind, are as exceptions in the mass. Italy, once blessed with the noblest creative power, once gifted with the liveliest perception of the beautiful, now only dreams of past renown. The arts have quitted her, to seek a new home in other lands.

ESSAY

ON THE

FIRST CENTURY OF ITALIAN ENGRAVING:

DEDICATED TO MANUEL JOHN JOHNSON, RADCLIFFE ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVER, OXFORD, BY HIS AFFECTIONATE FRIEND FRANCIS TURNER PALGRAVE.

1. Engraving and Painting, arts by their essential nature connected, were for the first century after Finiguerra's discovery united more closely from the practice of each by the same artist. For this were several causes:—the novelty of engraving, that turned designers' attention to it by simple curiosity; the want, consequent again on this novelty, of a specific class devoted to its pursuit; and, beyond all, that versatility and readiness which accompany genius in any age fertile in art, and arise not less from the existing skill of well-practised hands than from the confidence and animation that success reflects upon spectators, and these repay to the successful. During the eighty or the hundred years succeeding 1450 these causes were in Italy pre-eminently efficient: of the engravings then produced, almost all were the work of painters, or were executed within their schools; and hence the notice of these productions seems not alien from the general aim of volumes devoted to the history of Italian painting.

2. Some limits must, however, be set to such an attempt. A detailed or even a simple catalogue individually enumerating these works, although required by discoveries made since the time of Bartsch and of Ottley, would here be out of place; and with this also, details on the lives of the artists, or notice of the inferior. I shall rather endeavour, avoiding a frequent appeal to specific plates, to characterise the general style of the principal engravers; and, marking out the relations borne by their work to their own or to contemporaneous Painting, attempt to replace them within the sphere of that wider art, and the range of Kugler's philosophical method in

criticism. For the study of engravings—even to common eyes in some measure interesting—has been pursued by many whom Nature has distinguished by the gifts of taste and refinement with an industrious exclusiveness, which, isolating it from the consideration of contemporaneous works in painting, has in some degree defeated its own object. For by this separation of arts intimately allied, and at certain periods identified, we obscure that interconnection and unity which are the base of Art itself, and render the study of Engraving pedantic or trivial; distasteful to the multitude, and unavailing for the cause of refinement.

3. Differenced from wood-engraving by the fact that in *this* the impression is given from that portion of the surface of a plate which is left in relief by the sinking of interstices, while with metal the impression is obtained from ink received in lines and roughened depressions sunk below the polished surface—by the fact of this difference, which renders the action of the graving-tool on metal almost identical with chalk or pencil, and the far greater freedom and power thereby attained—so great a superiority belongs to the art of engraving on metal, that in popular language it almost bears the name alone. Yet it cannot be doubted that by the woodcuts, sufficiently common throughout Western Europe from the beginning of the fifteenth century, the idea of "engraving" was suggested to the workers in precious metals. The fact of this discovery—coinciding with the fashion that rendered articles of furniture, decorated with metal plates or "nielli," polished, and chased with graceful patterns, brought out by an alloy, or by paint rubbed into the lines, prominent among the necessary superfluities of refined Italian life—prepares us theoretically to anticipate that amongst the artist-goldsmiths of Italy the art of engraving would first suggest itself. By the investigations of Zani and of Ottley, the fact may be considered historically decided; and until German diligence shall bring to light some native work bearing a date earlier than 1452, we might place Maso Finiguerra the first name in the catalogue not of Italian engravers alone.

4. Yet if the first inventor of an art be not he that strikes out a method, but who puts it into conscious practice, we must

hesitate whether this distinction belongs to Finiguerra. It is rather as author of an unconscious invention that we may agree with Vasari and others in giving him precedence; for but two—at most three—recognized impressions from engraved plates by Finiguerra exist, and these bear the appearance of being simply proofs, taken by him from those chased works in niello above noticed. An ascertained date is afforded us by the most remarkable of these impressions, now preserved in the French national collection. It was printed, of course in reverse, from the Pax of the Assumption, completed by Finiguerra, as contemporary evidence assures us, not after the year 1452. As there appears fair reason to conclude that the second plate (now within the British Museum) is also by Finiguerra, and as this, from the inferior skill manifested in design, may reasonably be supposed anterior to the niello of the Assumption, we may perhaps place between 1440 and 1450 the first known impression from an incised plate.

5. But, from whatever cause, this happy thought of Finiguerra does not appear to have found immediate Italian imitators. The rare impressions preserved were probably occasional proofs from finished nielli, in his and similar instances taken by the artist for the same purpose as casts:—to preserve a memorial of the work for personal satisfaction, or testimonial of ability to others. And hence the practical commencement of engraving must, I think, be placed accordantly with Vasari, not before 1460. We have, it is true, no print bearing this date: but within a few years several occur; several in Italy, in Germany more, by their finished style sufficiently proving that they can hardly be the first essays of their respective artists. The German engravings—one perhaps dated 1465, and several 1466—firm in outline, skilful in drawing (according to the measure of that age), decided in handling, and printed with absolute skill, testify alike to the mechanical resources of that country, and to the lively zeal with which a discovery that, in the absence of further testimony, we may consider the suggestion of Finiguerra, was in the North soon taken up and perfected. The Italian artists seem, contrariwise, to have traversed a long period of preliminary attempt:—grace indeed and skill in drawing were *their*

inheritance, dormant at times, though inalienable:—but their earlier engravings, hard often in outline, and defective in the shadings, rudely printed in a feeble ink, and giving token that the plate itself was affixed to the press by nails driven not through the margin alone, reveal an equal indifference to mechanical perfection, from which it is probable that the impulse given by the finish of the German engravings—according to Vasari so popular in Florence towards the close of the fifteenth century—was required to rouse them.

6. These remarks apply principally to the works of the early Florentine school. To them, in the absence of other testimony—and on this subject any investigation must of necessity be often negative—we may assign priority over the engravings of Northern Italy. *These* will form the second class of the three into which I propose to distribute this essay. Differing in many respects, the engravings of the first and the second divisions seem in general to be alike the immediate work of their designers, or at least freely translated from originals supplied. But with the third class, which we may name the Roman school, a change appears, destined within a short period to reduce this Art to a procedure, less liberal and less expressive. Engravers as such—aiming to reproduce the designs of others—at this time established themselves. To the union of one with Raphael Sanzio we owe the most consummate specimens of engraving yet produced. But the tendency to mechanical workmanship, imminent ever where one hand designs, and another copies the design, displays itself even among the masterpieces of Marc Antonio. Degeneracy, masked at first by technical skill, and resisted at intervals by men of genius, commences before 1540; and engraving and painting in Italy can no further be treated as different sides of the same art by a just criticism.

7. It is from this early identification that the ancient engravings of Germany and of Italy derive a value perhaps not fully recognized. They are free translations from designs by great contemporaries, or the actual handiwork of eminent painters. Standing, with exception of the etchings of later artists, alone in this respect, they stand absolutely alone as the productions of that one period when the highest develop-

ment of Pictorial Art coincided with the practice of Engraving. Thus considered, although surpassed in some few points by the refinements of later practice, they possess an interest and an excellence intrinsically unattainable by modern works; beyond value, and beyond repetition.

I. Early Florentine Engravings from 1460 to 1500.

8. Although not all strictly anonymous, yet, from the very general absence of either signature or date, the works we may attribute to this school—amounting to more than 600 pieces—cannot be ranged under the names of individual artists without licence of conjecture rebuked by the few recorded facts. We learn from Vasari that Baccio Baldini, a goldsmith, and working between the years 1460–1480, was the first name recorded among professed Italian engravers; that his prints were mainly designed by the painter Sandro Botticelli, and with most others produced in that century, were regarded by the next with little admiration. Not one engraving by him is however specified, nor does the signature of Baldini anywhere appear. Sandro Botticelli (1437–1515), first a goldsmith, and then pupil of Filippo Lippi, taking up the graver himself, not till after the completion of many works in painting, produced a series of designs illustrative of Dante's Inferno: an experiment he found wasteful of time and of money. As Botticelli's work, Vasari also names a print representing the Triumph of the Faith of Savonarola—probably suppressed after that reformer's execution. No known impression exists:—but the Inferno designs may be safely identified with those published (1481) in the edition of Lorenzo della Magna. Markedly inferior to many other early Florentine works (for these little oblong prints are confused in design, and rude in execution), we must imagine either: 1. That the engravings were prepared several years before publication: 2. That Botticelli was surpassed by preceding artists: or 3. That the anonymous prints which Ottley and others have placed from 1460 onwards, are in fact the work of the last years of the fifteenth century. Thus the work can afford but slender inferences for the identification of

contemporary engravings; a misfortune where evidence is so scanty.

9. Two dates, however (and these the sole remaining), prove that whatever supposition we adopt in regard to the Dante of 1481, engravings superior to Botticelli's had been previously published. An Almanac, with an accompanying series of planetary illustrations, prepared for the years 1465–1517 inclusive, and therefore safely assignable to 1464, and three plates in the religious tract "Il Monte Sancto di Dio," published at Florence 1477, afford us certain standing ground. To these we may add a few prints by Antonio Pollajuolo, falling necessarily between the dates 1426–1498; with a charming figure of the Romance Hero, Guerino Meschino (in the British Museum, and described in no catalogue), which *may* have been intended to accompany editions of the story published at Padua and Venice in 1473 and 1477. Setting aside Pollajuolo's for the present, as these are the only facts in evidence, it seems safest—surrendering what cannot rise above simple conjecture as to the individual workmanship of Baldini, Botticelli, and others—to divide the early Florentine works mainly by general differences of handling. Thus framed, although empirical, the classification may be found conducive to clearness.

10. i. Popular Prints.—Some curious specimens, probably unique, in the British Museum Collection, show, as we might anticipate, the predominating excellences of Florentine art—animated drawing, tender expression, and decorative fancy, pervading the rude objects of domestic devotion. Such are an uncatalogued "Death of the Virgin," and the "S. Catherine of Sienna," B. xiii. p. 87, 5. Others, ruder still, display the somewhat commonplace humour, running easily into mere practical jest, long almost a characteristic of Italy. In these works few traces of individual style can of course be recognized: I place them first, as prefatory or exceptional to the larger mass of engravings.

11. These may be distributed under two main divisions, sufficiently marked to prove that the artists' aims were consciously different.

ii. Engravings, with outline always firm and often heavy,

slightly shaded with delicate etching, closely crossed at right angles: great elaboration and display of ornamental details, arabesque foliage in some, in most, armour chased on a dark ground. In the more finished specimens, or perhaps in those of which perfect impressions are preserved—and, once for all, I may here notice that it is only by perfect impressions, rare almost to uniqueness, that these early works can in any sense be judged—there is decided aim at chiaroscuro and general pictorial effect. Some instances, and pre-eminently that singular series transferred in great part from the Otto Collection to the British Museum, present draperies cast in large and well-considered folds: more frequently they follow the type of the Florentine artists succeeding Masaccio. This characterises an uncatalogued "Cross Bearing and Crucifixion" in the British Museum, which, from the Gothic character of the rich accessories—resembling, according to Waagen (Treasures of Art in Great Britain, v. i. p. 250), the Venetian Vivarini—stands probably among the first in date. With this we may place a similar print of the "Resurrection" inscribed above, by the hand apparently of an ancient possessor, "Milano 1470," and an interesting "Sacrifice of Abraham," preserved in the Uffizj Collection. But throughout almost all the early Florentine engravings, however otherwise different, the character of features—pure, graceful, and delicate—which we observe in the paintings of Angelico, the Lippi Family, Botticelli, and others, is preserved with a fidelity that artists alone can fully appreciate.

12. This rendering of an expression beyond all others spiritual and evanescent, is of course attained in varying degrees. But, as in the attempts of children, we pardon the deficiencies of these inexperienced hands with pleasure, and we look on their successes with delight. But our delight, for their sake to whom these early works at a hasty glance appear rude and overvalued, it may be observed, is not spontaneous or effortless. For the pleasures and the lessons of art are proportionate to our own sympathy with genius, to the range and experience of our taste, and the desire to educate it by the study of works, in which Beauty, not obvious or fully developed, is almost more beautiful than in the rarer examples of attained perfection, by virtue of its hope and its promise.

13. In the *secular* works of this division—as that Otto series, and the Planets attached to the Almanack of 1464 (and in our third class there are but few distinctively such)—the festive freedom and amorous cheerfulness of Florentine life, the power of external Nature and the empire of Love, are rendered with a native grace and a severity which disappeared in the sixteenth century before a more superficially classical mythologism and the misfortunes of Italy. One large series of prints is characteristically devoted to some popular games, in which the playing cards employed were decorated with the best efforts of contemporary art. A few specimens, undescribed apparently by Bartsch or Ottley, and marked with "Amone," "Serafino," and similar names, in the British Museum, are of peculiar beauty: the design bold, the outline decided, the shadings delicately rendered. Similar to these "Tarocchi" cards, in form and character, is the long series of Prophets and Sibyls (*copied* in the style we shall next describe), varied and graceful in attitude, and with that marked attempt at discrimination of character which the succeeding centuries sacrificed to the pursuit of ideality, or the practice of negligence. In our entire uncertainty on individual names—we might, however, say that in design these works are worthy of Botticelli; in execution, of Baldini; measuring the first by Botticelli's existing pictures, the second by that excellence in handling, which a judgment less biassed than Vasari's will not doubt was ultimately attained by Baldini.

14. Lastly, as the most perfect specimens of this early, still anonymous style, we find a few single heads which must date from the close of the century. One, a female profile of great beauty and finished expression, is regarded by Wilson and by Waagen as the probable work of Leonardo da Vinci. But we have no evidence whatever that this great investigator added engraving to the many arts he practised. A comparison of this with a companion head of even higher excellence and more perfect in impression (both in the British Museum Collection), will, I think, show that they are rather Florentine, and in the style of Botticelli, whose single profile portraits, in severity and the treatment of undulating hair, they strikingly resemble.

15. With the sixteenth century we enter the period of

engravings individually assignable. Works in the style now described appear then to pass into those by Nicoletto da Modena, and Gian Antonio da Brescia's earlier attempts.

16. iii. Whilst a certain aim at chiaroscuro, combined with much elaboration in ornament, may be traced in the Second Division, in the Third general effect is passed over in the attempt to give an imitation of pen drawings. These are prints hatched generally with distinct and parallel lines, outlined with great delicacy and freedom, and so closely resembling the character of Filippino Lippi's and Botticelli's known works, that the design may be reasonably attributed to those artists or to their scholars. A "Life of the Virgin" (enumerated under Nicoletto by Bartsch), in the execution of which more than one hand may be distinctly traced (as by comparing Nos. 11 and 16 with the rest of the series), is perhaps the most remarkable instance. We have here drawing graceful and correct, expression varied and animated, and at times (as in No. 20) a finished landscape full of circumstance and observation. Of even higher beauty is a "Coronation of the Virgin," preserved at Oxford amongst the many treasures of Dr. Wellesley's Collection. And with these we may place the series from Petrarch's "Triumphs," resembling them in style, though of inferior merit; but most in that serious devotional character we might anticipate from the friend of Savonarola. This Puritanism of the Florentines is seen yet more in the large plate, "The Preaching of Fra Marco;" in another very animated preaching scene, in the Wellesley Collection; and in a "Last Judgment" (B. 23) resembling the well-known visions of Angelico da Fiesole both in design and in the presence of certain priestly personages, not found among the ranks of those destined upwards.

17. Together with these, but larger in size and in treatment, we may notice the important "Presentation of the Scapulary to S. Thomas" (B. xiii. p. 86, 4.), so closely resembling Botticelli's paintings in character, that we may ascribe the design to him with less hesitation than must generally accompany conjectures across an interval surpassing three hundred years. In this plate (to which a date on the further side of 1500 can hardly be assigned) the freedom of execution and the variety

in the handling of shadows prepare us for the works of Robetta, Benedetto Montagna, and other acknowledged artists of the sixteenth century.

18. As distinctly assignable to their author, and as differing in aim from all the foregoing, last and separately I mention the few prints by Antonio Pollajuolo (1426–1498). These large works, which Vasari *seems* to date before 1483, exhibit an elaborate attempt to render every feature of powerful and finished drawings. They are indeed executed with great force, breadth, and mastery. But Pollajuolo, proud of his anatomical knowledge, and perhaps of his subjects selected from the stormy scenes of Grecian mythology—the combats of giants and heroes—has thrown himself with such energy into the display of violent action, that we look in vain at these once-famed academical works for that human interest and human grace without which no work of art can be other than historically attractive.

19. These designs, however, point out that the simple expression of devotional tranquillity and the allegories of common life, with the manufacture of works (as the Tarocchi cards) for practical use, no longer satisfied the engravers of Italy. Engravings that could adequately translate the highest efforts of the artist were now required: the study of form was making rapid advance, and Pollajuolo's prints (in accessory details and general treatment reminding of Mantegna) are probably proofs of the influence exercised on Florence (stationary in art, as has been often noticed, towards the close of the fifteenth century) by the more adventurous and loftier spirits of Northern Italy—the next division of our subject.

II. Schools of Northern Italy: transition to Rome: 1460–1520.

20. *i. Padua.*—Less influenced than her more Asiatic neighbour by Byzantine traditions, Padua, towards the middle of the fifteenth century, surpassed Venice in the individual character of her art. A style was then formed, which, though resembling the earlier Venetian in seriousness of expression, in lucid brilliancy of tone, and to some extent in the disposition of draperies, was yet eminently peculiar. In

Padua, the "Learned City," had been born the great historian of early Rome: here, Livy wrote, Antenor had settled; and here the horse of Pallas, saved from the flames of Troy, was for centuries (who should presume to number how many?) preserved in the Magic Hall of Pietro d'Abano. Here also, to promote, or to re-establish the knowledge of antiquity, Francesco Squarcione had placed the earliest collection of the fragments of Hellenic art, studied by at least one pupil in a spirit not unworthy the creative genius of Athens in her earlier glory.

21. But of this pupil—from the city of his adoption surnamed Mantegna—we have few works, and fewer records. Born a Paduan in 1431, married to a daughter of Giacomo and sister of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, Andrea probably removed to Mantua about 1462, executed there his important designs for the "Triumph of Julius Cæsar," was called to Rome in 1488, returned to Mantua in 1490, and died there in 1506. No engravings bear his signature; but Vasari, who, until the claims of Finiguerra had been laid before him (during the interval between 1550 and 1568), entitled Mantegna the first Italian engraver, enumerates five by name, with some from the "Triumphs;" adding it was in Rome that the sight of Florentine engravings roused Mantegna to the practice of the recent art.

22. None of Mantegna's prints bear date; yet with Lanzi, Ottley, and others, we may perhaps doubt whether one portion was not executed previous to 1488. Some few at any rate, as the "Flagellation" (B. 1.), fall decidedly below the rest in handling: others, as the "Descent" (B. 4.), are designed in a taste simpler than prevailed towards 1500; the "Triumphs" (B. 11, 12, 13.) are engraved, not from the completed work, but from preliminary sketches. But Mantegna's method in execution is everywhere essentially similar. A very firm and decided outline, traced rather to detach the figures from the ground than to be their own bounding extremity, the shadows in general closely wrought, producing an effect of chiaroscuro little below Venetian; transverse lines, scarcely crossed, to darken the background; the perspective foreshortening excellent, and the drawing throughout the figures (for the backgrounds are often rude), and of the

extremities in particular, masterly. All is executed with a truly painter's freedom, rendering Mantegna's engravings little less than pictures in themselves; in severe grace and reserve resembling what conjecture might assume as the method of Athenian designers.

23. These works (published perhaps in commercial Lombardy), as we learn from Vasari, gained Mantegna immediate fame: they gained him also the less desirable honour of many imitators. The detail of these repetitions would be here unsuitable: as distinguishing signs, I remark that *every* print, proved undoubtedly Mantegna's by ancient statement or by internal evidence, is shaded in lines drawn obliquely down from right to left, and that no imitator has equalled the keenness and the precision of his peculiar outline. Best of the repetitions, and produced probably in the Mantuan School, are those enumerated with Mantegna's by Bartsch; one (B. 11.), as it appears to me, regarded as original where no original has been hitherto brought to light; and to this school I should ascribe the Young Slave fac-similized by Ottley. Next in merit are the Judith (B. 1.) and the S. John Baptist (B. 3.), by the Venetians Mocetto and Giulio Campagnola; surpassing Mantegna's own work in breadth and in effect; falling below it in the precise daring of his outline. Others of varied skill appear under the signatures of Z. A. and G. A. da Brescia: most remote from excellence are those by Nicoletto. And it is striking, lastly, that the modern engraver who has in Ottley's History produced fac-similes in general of high fidelity, should, in his copy from the "Battle of Sea Gods," have given, by failure, a convincing proof of the unapproachable merits of Mantegna's own handling.

24. Passing from such details to the spirit of these engravings, Mantegna displays the Paduan style in its highest development. And that deep study of the antique, of common life, and of anatomy are in him united to the strongest individuality and mastery over the expression of highly wrought feeling. In the small cycle of his prints each of these tendencies is represented. We have here portrait heads; mythological scenes and from Roman history; Christian subjects, turning mostly on the cycle of the Saviour's death; common life

and its circumstances; a fertility in themes, within a range thus numerically small, rarely paralleled. Even in the less important representations there is a high and impassioned seriousness: mythology is reproduced by Mantegna, not with the literal exactness of Poussin or Giulio Romano, but as if transfigured by the passage through a mind of Northern temperament. Of this we have one curious proof. The original of the "Battle of Sea Gods" (B. 18) exists in a bas-relief at Ravenna. More graceful and *classical* in conception, this wants the inward energy of Mantegna's print, the sentiment of Gothic passion; while, broad and large in design as the Elgin Theseus, the noble figure to the left is due to his own invention—added apparently at once to balance the group and to give it the further significance of contrast.

25. In the Scriptural prints the same earnestness of aim appears with greater prominence. On the countenance and whole attitude of the Virgin Mother (B. 8), pressing the Infant to her face, Mantegna—like Michael Angelo, whom beyond all artists in intensity of imagination he seems to approach—careless of ideal beauty, has concentrated the tenderness of love, already passing into prophetic and foreboding anxiety:—in the Risen Saviour with SS. Andrew and Longinus (B. 6), the *last* of the series, he has aimed at the repose of victory—almost, if I may be allowed the phrase, at the human *regret*—rather than the exultation. And of those intermediate in the Gospel history, two prints—the "Descent" and the later "Entombment" (B. 4 and 3), may be placed above every other engraved representation of these arduous subjects in power and variety of design, dramatic truth, and the intensity of passionate feeling. With all the aids of greater size, greater freedom, and the magic of colour, few even of the greatest painters have surpassed these early attempts of Italian engraving in mastery of execution, and in force of expression.

Although copious in design, this great master seems attached to certain special conceptions with an obstinate strength characteristic of his genius. The "Antaeus" (B. 16) re-appears *en grisaille* among Mantegna's few remaining works within the Palace at Mantua; the magnificent "Virgin of

the Grotto" (B. 9) forms the central group of his elaborate oil picture, conspicuous among the treasures of the Florentine Tribune.

26. *ii. Venice.*—Attaining later its perfection than those of Florence or of Padua, the Venetian school, at a period when in Rome itself the fairest flowers of art had already passed their prime, added one, and that the most permanent, to the many glories of the Island City. And this advantage—shared also with Padua—seemed thus secured, that the greatest Venetian painters were contemporaneous with an art capable now by thirty years' practice to reproduce (and that by the masters' own hand) some image of their efforts, in tints not liable to fading, and a form less exposed to the ravages of time or of wantonness. This fact would alone give the early Venetian prints (less known perhaps than any others in our series) an especial claim to attention: we may add, that from the peculiar direction of Venetian art, nowhere else could the fundamental principles of chiaroscuro, inferior, if inferior in importance, to design alone (for unity, the essential aim of *all* art, in *pictorial* art lies perhaps more in the chiaroscuro than in the design—in mass, gradation, harmony, and truth of local tint more than in contour and expression), be applied so well, or felt so deeply. Such claims belonging to the Venetian engravings, we must regret only the scantiness of the facts recorded concerning these works; the scarcity, almost incredible in days of steel-plates and electrotype, of the works themselves: finally, the small number of artists (and not one of the *highest* rank in painting) who took advantage of this method, less brilliant, but against the wastefulness of years far more permanent, to secure what, when the masterpieces of genius are at stake, we would wish to believe immortality.

27. First probably in point of date, and by his engravings proving himself connected with the earliest among the greater glories of Venetian art, we may place Girolamo Mocetto. All we know of him is that he must have been among Gian Bellini's first pupils: that two of his pictures bear date 1484 and 1493: that he probably died before 1500. Ten or eleven engravings, some signed, but none dated, form all his recognised works: it may be doubted whether the total number of im-

pressions preserved exceeds fifty. A fair series may be seen in the British Collection: the French (characteristic of France in its eminent excellence where excellence is aimed at, for, at least in 1850, it was a *partial* collection) possesses a splendid impression of the S. John Baptist (B. 5): Dr. Wellesley's contains the magnificent "Virgin and Child with Saints" (Ottley, p. 514): the Uffizj, an undescribed "Resurrection."

28. The design of the S. John Baptist and of the truly gorgeous Judith (B. 1) is in all probability by Mantegna. Though not equalling his work in strength and precision, Mocetto's have greater effect and colouring; and this enhanced by the employment of a rich ink, and paper glowing with a golden hue; those minor accessories to excellence, of which, even more than the other early engravers of Italy and Germany, the Venetians were wisely sedulous. It is however in the "Virgin and Child" (B. 4), and the "Enthroned Madonna and Saints:" perhaps in the "Baptism" (B. 2), ascribed by Dr. Waagen to a design by the Lombard Cotignola, but with more certainty in the "Virgin Ascended" (B. 3), the apparent original of which, a school-work perhaps by Mocetto, exists in SS. Pietro e Paolo, Murano, that the inspiration of Bellini may be traced; there is much rudeness in the details, the forms often unsatisfactory, and the extremities harshly drawn: yet no other engraver has rendered with such authentic vigour the magnificent folds of drapery, the calm austerity of expression, and the dignified attitudes of that great master; few, perhaps, have equalled the bold and painter-like effect of Mocetto's handling.

29. Mocetto is further remarkable as the only contemporary engraver in the *earlier* Venetian manner. Greater freedom of design, less depth and serenity of feeling, but equal aim and success in chiaroscuro and the balance of effect, were the objects of the sixteenth century, earliest in which we may probably place the interesting little works that bear the otherwise unknown name of Marcello Fogolino. These prints (specimens of which are contained in our Museum Collection) also show that some mode of obtaining half-tint, more even and delicate than any cross-hatching in positive lines, was recognized already as needful to perfection. Giulio Campagnola

was probably the first who approached success in a method which only Siegen, or whoever was the genius, inventive and refined, that discovered "mezzotint," could render absolutely successful.

30. Giulio, born at Padua in 1481, and son to a pupil of Squarcione, must however, from the direction of his style, be ranked among the Venetians. In one of the ten or twelve prints that may be ascribed to him (for, in addition to the nine described by Ottley, the British Museum possesses a "Buck chained to a tree," and, hitherto unrecognised, a "Girl lying in a Landscape"—the companion in style to a "Youth seated on a rock," in Dr. Wellesley's Collection)—the noble figure of S. John Baptist (B. 3) he has indeed nearly approached the force of Mantegna's best original works. But this Paduan design is probably repeated from Mocetto's print (B. 5), and bears below the address of a Venetian publisher. Two other prints, a facsimile of Dürer's "Penitence of S. Chrysostom" (B. 63) (9 of Ottley's G. Campagnola), and the landscape portion of the "Ganymede" (B. 5), repeated from Dürer's B. 42, are proofs amongst many of the interest raised in Italy, not *then* compelled to regard the North with an eye of jealous hatred, by the works of the great German master. The character of the rest is purely Venetian, in subject and sentiment: from its delicate idyllic feeling we might reasonably ascribe the design, at any rate, of the "Young Shepherd" (B. 6) to the hand of Giorgione. But even without this honourable distinction, so charming is this little print in expression, so perfect and pure in design, and so delicate in handling (noticeable especially in the pure dry-point impression preserved in the British Museum), that we do not wonder at its ancient popularity. Of it, in fact—of the "Older Shepherd" (B. 7), and of the "Astrologer," dated 1509 (No. 8 of Bartsch, whose copy C. is the original print)—several imitations, of more or less excellence, and some by the hand of Agostino Veneziano, exist. None, however, equal the peculiar delicacy of Campagnola's execution, worked up by stippled dots to a resemblance of mezzotint.

31. Few works of ancient art surpass Giulio Campagnola's more finished engravings in the excellence of their *daylight*

chiaroscuro. Another merit, and *that* also peculiarly Venetian, is the truth and grace of his landscape backgrounds, not crowded, a too frequent failing in Florentine and Roman engravings, with primitive trees or with fantastic architecture — decorations for the opera-house or scenery from a provincial theatre—but displaying the farmhouses of Friuli built up in picturesque masses amongst graceful foliage, or the palaces and towers of Venice reflected in her solemn Adriatic. These country scenes — indications, it is true, and suggestive only, for they are but slightly rendered, of a tendency to Englishmen so interesting—strikingly resemble the earlier landscape of Titian in pictures such as Mr. Rogers's "Magdalene," or the charming "Three Ages" of Lord Ellesmere's gallery. And of Campagnola's connection with that great artist and his fellow-scholar—greater perhaps in power and in imaginative invention—one relic exists of beauty so high that it could hardly be left unnoticed, even if especial notice were not claimed by such connecting links, in any attempt to trace not merely the results of genius, but the inner influences which have directed its manifestation.

32. In the collection of drawings left to Christ Church, Oxford, by a General Guise, under conditions which render it scarcely more assailable than Ehrenbreitstein or Gibraltar (though the works within are in all the confusion of deep neglect), a small drawing exists, so decidedly an engraver's work in its elaborate finish and perfectly wrought-out chiaroscuro, and so absolutely similar in handling and in the indicated landscape to Giulio Campagnola's engravings, that to him it should, I think, be ascribed with as little doubt as may accompany conjecture. Marked "Siorsion," in the sweet native dialect—probably on the internal evidence of subject—by some admiring Venetian of old, the design might with equal justice be ascribed to Titian. For, as in the "Three Ages," a youth, seated on deep grass, is gazing with passionate seriousness on a beautiful girl, who, dropping the flageolet she holds in some pause of feeling, perhaps too deep for music, leans forward against his knee, and looks up imploringly on her lover. But the girl is of a beauty higher than she bears even in that masterpiece of Titian's more

refined years; and the youth (to complete the circle of inter-resemblances), no longer the Shepherd of Lord Ellesmere's picture, but dressed in rich Venetian costume and holding a guitar, connects this Oxford design with that famous work which bears Giorgione's name—the "Music Party" of the Louvre gallery.

33. It is further interesting that the drawing I have here described, believing it *executed* by Giulio Campagnola, and if also *engraved* by him (for no impression exists), unquestionably the most graceful of his works, connects Giulio with his namesake and contemporary Domenico. Possibly his brother—a Venetian artist beyond doubt, and highly distinguished among Titian's earlier pupils—from the date occurring on several of Domenico Campagnola's engravings, 1517, we might conjecturally anticipate his style: no longer the magnificent stateliness of Mantegna, or the serenity and devotion of Bellini's pupil, but a design free, spirited, and correct; action animated and tumultuous; the sky in some instances, as in the works of Veronese or of Tintoret, darkened with streaks of cloud—and yet that indescribably just balance of light and shade, the fascination of Venetian art—preserved throughout with a perfection rarely found, and not more frequently appreciated.

34. In Domenico's own animated manner, but *here* combined with unusual beauty, I may notice the "Madonna and Child, with Saints," (B. 5), figures highly contrasted in outline, but grouped with peculiar skill; and like all Domenico Campagnola's work, exhibiting foliage of much truth and spirit; and the charming "Group of Children" (No. 12 of Ottley). Not idealized into Cupids, like those of Raphael in Marc Antonio's justly-famous print (B. 217), Domenico's children preserve the look of *individual* life and attitude with expression, varied, pleasing, and, in a degree far beyond most early works, truthful to the character of an age that from the Artist stands in little need of idealization.

35. To the style of earlier Venice belong two or three engravings: the brilliant "Young Shepherd and Warrior" (B. 8), worthy of Giorgione, not only in design but in felicitous execution; and, beyond all, the "Music Party"

(B. 9). Not only does the subject of this print (substantially identical with the drawing above described) recall immediately the sweetest inspiration of Titian and of Barbareili, but the treatment of landscape is so thoroughly similar to that of Giulio Campagnola, that, in the absence of date, signature, or historical evidence, we may perhaps conjecturally assign to the *united* work of these two artists—brothers at least in art—this engraving, beautiful beyond most of Italian workmanship, and specially interesting from the mighty names that by its sight are called up at once to the intelligent observer, and united.

36. A very few works might, perhaps, be added to the brief series of early Venetian engravings. To the artist who signs F. N., 1515, beneath a Holy Family, where the background reminds of Mocetto, may probably be assigned the "Satyr and Shepherd" of the British Museum Collection, distinguished by the excellent handling of fig-tree foliage, ascribed by Ottley (in Sir M. Sykes's Catalogue) to Domenico Campagnola. And many traces of Venetian influence appear in the interesting engravings signed P. P., the most striking amongst which is described at full length in Ottley's "History." This artist, according to Dr. Waagen, identified by German research with Pellegrino da S. Daniello, a painter of Udine, and scholar to Gian Bellini, in style of drapery recalls his master; in the dotted finish of his plates, Giulio Campagnola; although in the handling and in some details (but all executed with greater freedom) some resemblance appears to the work of the Florentine Robetta.

37. *iii. Brescia*—to be noticed next in order after Padua and Venice, and influenced most by Venetian art through Titian's distinguished pupil Bonvicino—furnishes two engravers to the second division of our subject: Gian Maria and Gian Antonio. But the latter, by his *eclectic* style, and consequent want of individual aim and method, belongs more properly to the predecessors of Marc Antonio, and will consequently be hereafter characterized. To Gian Maria da Brescia, supposed Gian Antonio's brother, belong a very few interesting engravings, dated in the year 1502. The execution, though spirited, betrays a hand unaccustomed *thus* to render the artist's delicate expression and feeling for grace and for character. Yet

his prints possess qualities eminently painter-like; and in the "Virgin and Child with Saints" (B. xiii., p. 313), while some portions exhibit traces of Roman design, the Madonna, seated within a circle of clouds, presents an arrangement which, suggested perhaps by Andrea Mantegna's (B. 8), is repeated more than once in the paintings of Gian Maria's fellow-citizen Bonvicino.

38. *iv. Ferrara.*—To this school, free and spirited, but fantastic in design, the curious etchings signed with the figure of a Caduceus perhaps belong. Brulliot's identification of the master with the Jac. A. de Barbary, by whose hand a picture, signed also with the Caduceus and dated 1504, was by him seen at Augsburg—credible apparently in itself—suggests that the name "de' Barbarj" might be sought for among the painters of the Ferrarese. Meanwhile, a German educated in Italy, or an Italian influenced by German art—either hypothesis might satisfy the problem. And as an impression of the "Sacrifice" (B. 19) in the Dresden collection bears, inscribed in a hand apparently contemporaneous, the date 1501 upon the blank tablet, while the "Risen Saviour" (B. 3) of the British Museum (an engraving, according to Brulliot, repeated in a second picture), once apparently in Albert Dürer's possession, has been by him marked 1519, the general date of the "Master of the Caduceus" may be considered approximately determined.

39. Details such as these are the needful, but unsightly foundation for a just estimate of genius. But more unquestionable than the details in this instance is the very peculiar grace and character of the artist. Here and there, as, perhaps, in the "Risen Saviour," and more decidedly in the "Holy Family" (B. 5), the "Guardian Angel" (B. 9), and the "Sacrifice," the drapery reminds of Mantegna. The handling uncommonly free, light, and spirited, and in some good impressions of high brilliancy, displays more clearly a connexion with the admirable method of Dürer and Lucas van Leyden. And reminding, perhaps, also of Germany, perhaps of amateur workmanship, is the drawing: faulty often in details, but capable of redeeming greater faults by the invention and feeling generally predominant. In the "Judith"

and the "St. Catherine" (B. 1 and 8), in the "Holy Family" (B. 5 and 6), and the "Sacrifice" already noticed, the best qualities of the master are seen. For in these works there is a grace peculiarly Grecian; a statuesque treatment of drapery, modelled to repeat the figure; a curve and flow of line, to which everything, as in Correggio, is subordinate (compare especially the Holy Family, B. 6); delicate and truthful study of foliage, a merit in engravers amongst the very rarest; and, lastly, power over expression, limited, indeed, in range, but within the artist's limits, as it appears to me, of peculiar refinement and graciousness.

40. *v. Bologna.*—The qualities on which I have just dwelt are so rare, so rarely does an engraver, amongst the many hundred since Finiguerra, place us in immediate contact with spontaneous invention and with individual feeling, that they will be held justificatory against acknowledged deficiencies. But for the main works on rational grounds ascribed to Giacomo, son of the distinguished Francesco Francia,—the sole characteristic Bolognese engraver—no plea in extenuation is required. A confidence on the reader's part that may justify myself, is what I would here desire; for with few exceptions, these prints by Giacomo Francia—equal almost to the highest works of Marc Antonio in grace and in purity of design, and distinguished from his by those precious qualities just noted inherent in the engravings of a painter only—are scarcely known. But one characteristic specimen, the "Saints" (1 of Ottley's Catalogue), is contained in the British Museum Collection: for the "Virgin and Child" (in finished and unfinished states) seems to me unworthy of Giacomo, to whom it is *there* conjecturally assigned. One or two of the most striking, so far as I have ascertained, hardly exist, except in the impressions of Dr. Wellesley's Collection: justly appreciated by their possessor, and, perhaps, works that few would adequately appreciate.

41. For they are engravings not striking *à vue d'œil;* executed rather with extreme delicacy and finish than forcible, and deficient (of course, for this is matter of degrees of latitude) in the subtle and satisfying harmony of Venetian chiaroscuro. And the subjects are such as our own Etty, dreaming

over a few favourite images, might have chosen; single figures mostly; and these, women standing in tranquil attitudes, that in grace and inward seriousness resemble the type frequent in his father's works. But the design, as can be seen in the "Saints" of the British Museum Collection, is more free perhaps and larger. In *this* the peculiarly graceful line and the devotional sweetness of Francesco's figures are most happily given; in others, as the "Lucretia," "Cleopatra," and "Venus," of the Wellesley Cabinet (Nos. 4, 5, and 6 of Ottley), the dignity and unrestraint of the Roman design, as it was in the first years of the sixteenth century, blends with the peculiarities characteristic of the great days and the genuine school of Bolognese art.

42. *Florence and Central Italy.*—That originality which marks the earlier productions of the Italian engravers, together with the Florentine school of art itself, seems to disappear soon after the beginning of the sixteenth century. Rome, a city since Roman times degenerate in her citizens and barren of genius, the crowned phantom, as men said, seated on the tomb of departed greatness, now for a short space shone forth in alien lustre, and a glory that was not her own. Great as were the names of her adopted artists—the very greatest in art—no real or permanent school resulted from their teaching. Yet so powerful was the fascination of Raphael and of Michael Angelo, that all Italy, south of the Apennines, accepted the impress they stamped on art, and life perished with individuality. Enslaved now to a base and selfish despotism, Florence first, giving Rome her great son and her great scholar, and surrendering with liberty genius inseparable from virtue, exchanged in art reality for imitation. Henceforth, as in the series of her painters, so of her engravers—although the work of that period can scarcely fail of some inherent excellence—yet no names occur of eminent merit, few preserving traces of individual or characteristic method. And as Roman influences extended northward, the same result appears. Men originally of independent aim seem to have lost the better portion of their genius, and were satisfied mechanically to reproduce echoes of that graceful design, the secrets of which but one engraver (and *that* by the immediate instructions of Raphael) was capable of grasping.

43. I shall therefore here place in one series, and describe with less than previous detail, a number of engravers belonging either to schools decaying in themselves, or mannered imitators of the so-called Roman artists, commencing with those who most distinctly appear to merit the honours due to original invention and to nationality of design. Barely connected with what was peculiar to Northern Italy, these will form a transition from Lombard engravers to Marc Antonio.

44. *vi*, With Robetta the early Florentine School reached its highest development: like Finiguerra, Baldini, Botticelli, and Pollajuolo, a member of the craft of goldsmiths, member also of an artists' society, recorded by Vasari under the year 1511. 1505, inscribed in ancient handwriting below an impression of his "Murder of Abel" (Ott. p. 462) in the Corsini Collection, with Vasari's, are our sole dates for Robetta's period. Executed apparently with the dry-point alone, his work (amounting to about thirty pieces) has a certain meagreness in appearance, and want of ease in the line, tempered by the general characteristics of his time and city, and the influence of more skilful engravers.

45. To the undated "Jealousy" (B. 73) of Albert Dürer, whose works, by their unequalled firmness and delicacy, provoked and defied the imitation of so many, he is indebted for the background of the "Woman and Lovers" (B. 24). The imitation of Domenico Campagnola is so distinctly perceptible in several engravings, and that with the inferiority of an imitator, that I do not hesitate to consider this an instance, almost solitary, of Venetian influence exerted south of Cisalpine Italy. In the treatment of the ground this characterises an undescribed "S. Jerome" of the British Museum Collection, and other prints; appearing also in the forms of the "Faith and Charity" (B. 15); in the eminently graceful figure, and the landscape (water-mills reflected in a stream), of an undescribed "Leda," also in the British Museum; subject only in this last instance to the doubt whether this unsigned engraving be not really the work of Domenico.

46. Robetta displays in fact many tokens of a genius singularly impressible. Amongst the artists of the time, the graceful design of Filippino Lippi (his comrade in the Society of 1511) appears in the "Nymphs with a Lyre" (B. 23),

executed by Lippi in fresco within S. Maria Novella, and again in a charming "Appearance of the Virgin to S. Benedict," an undescribed print of the Corsini Collection. Sandro Botticelli's manner (according to Waagen) is traceable in others; Fra Bartolommeo's in the "Virgin and Child" (B. 12). Perugino—and this, so far as I am aware, is the sole instance where this peculiarly refined and almost inimitable artist has been rendered by a contemporary engraver—must have furnished the background at least for the beautiful print (B. 9) described as the "Parting of Christ and the Virgin." An influence, not less decided than Lippi's, appears to me that of Rafaellino del Garbo (the scholar of Filippino, 1476–1524), to whose sweet and delicate design, with its peculiar and graceful mannerism in the employment of Florentine ornaments (note especially the gem bound across the forehead), Robetta's very pleasing "Virgin and Child with Angels" (B. 13) and "Ceres" (B. 16) are perhaps due. Yet throughout he maintains an individual character, modifying these external models, in part by peculiarities of drawing, not always happy—in part by a grace and naïveté that many artists, by far Robetta's superiors in power and invention, fail to present.

47. *vii.* Nicoletto de' Rossi.—This engraver, belonging to the school of *Modena*, characterized, like the neighbouring art of Ferrara, by something fantastic and over-decorative, and dating two of his numerous works in 1500 and 1512 (the only facts regarding him we possess), after a certain imitation of German and of Lombardic artists, appears to have formed a style peculiar to himself. The figures, often graceful, are in great measure sacrificed to an ingenious display of fanciful and ruinous architecture; through the broken columns appears a landscape of much tenderness and delicacy, and when seen in good condition (essential to a fair judgment of Nicoletto's powers, but unfortunately infrequent), the whole effect is a pleasing, though somewhat childish luxuriance.

48. His own manner is best displayed in the "Nativity" (B. 3, 4, although the figures in 3 are from Martin Schongauer), in the "S. George" (Ottley, p. 541), in the "Punishment of the Slanderer" (B. 37), and in an undescribed "S. Sebastian" of the Wellesley Cabinet, brilliant in effect and

careful in drawing. From Mantegna, a genius altogether opposed, he has probably taken the "Neptune" (B. 49), a "Female Saint," and a "Girl standing beside a Tree," extremely pleasing and delicate, both uncatalogued prints of the British Collection. The influence of G. Campagnola, transmitted through G. B. del Porto, appears in the "Leda" (B. 46): his "Europa" (B. 51) is a repetition of Del Porto's (B. 4): an undescribed "Philosopher Reading," of the Museum may be from the design of Filippino Lippi. Dürer's "Four Women" (B. 75, dated 1497) is feebly imitated in Nicoletto's "Judgment of Paris" (B. 62, dated 1500), Schongauer's "Peasant" (B. 88) in his No. 65, and from him the Italian probably derived the design for the "Saviour Blessing" (Ott. p. 536).

49. *viii.* Benedetto Montagna.—Proceeding downwards in the scale of power and of original invention, this artist—a native of *Vicenza*, probably at the commencement of the sixteenth century (for of the three copies he has given from Dürer two originals (B. 2, 97) are dated 1504 and 1505), may be ranked after Nicoletto. Like Nicoletto, he worked from German models. Beside the direct copies (B. 15, 32, and the undescribed repetition the British Museum possesses from Dürer's No. 2), traces of Northern *motif* may be observed elsewhere, as in "The Agony" (B. 4); for it was through Northern Italy that German art naturally at all times most freely penetrated. Like other Lombardic engravers, Montagna also was influenced by Venice. The influence of Mocetto's design and handling appears in the "Sacrifice of Abraham" (B. 1), in the "S. George" (B. 12), while an undescribed "Christ Risen" in the Museum (apparently a simple repetition from Mocetto) is probably one instance out of several amongst early engravings where a lost original (unless comparison should ascertain the print of the Uffizj Collection, before noticed, to be that original) has been preserved in a copy, itself perhaps unique.

50. But a series of small prints by Montagna present considerable inter-similarity of style, handling free and effective, yet delicate—landscape animated and fairly characteristic, and figures of much simple grace and variety. Amongst these, confusedly grouped by Bartsch and Ottley, the fancy subjects, signed B. M. (B. 21, 27, 29), are perhaps from Venetian

motifs, the mainly mythological cycle, signed at full length (B. 17, 18, 19, 22, and others undescribed in the British Museum), exhibiting also the characteristics above noted, may probably be regarded as altogether Montagna's.

51. *ix.* Gian Antonio da Brescia was probably brother to that Gian Maria whose few works I have before noticed. *These* possess a marked and individual style; but the numerous works of Gian Antonio (nearly one hundred if we include those signed Z. A.), although not without grace and artist-like facility in treatment, yet present the first decided productions of an engraver as such. Mainly simple repetitions of contemporaneous engravings, they scarcely entitle their author to rank amongst that higher class, the Peintres Graveurs—who thus multiplied their own designs. Mantegna, Dürer, and Marc Antonio (probably in chronological sequence, and the last together with Raphael's works studied by Gian Antonio in Rome) afforded the most noticeable models. As the like repetition of Dürer and of Mantegna, with other Lombardic masters, and these handled in a very similar style, distinguishes the prints signed Z. A.; as Ottley's argument that the attribution of these to a Venetian "Zoan Andrea" by Zani and by Bartsch, is an improbable hypothesis, appears to me justly tenable; and as, lastly, we may well imagine that Gian Antonio, if resident at Venice, signed his works in the Venetian dialect—Gian Antonio and Z. A. may with some probability be regarded as the same artist, and the works thus marked together considered.

52. Although deficient in the severity and force of Mantegna's own designs, and his peculiarly effective handling, though inferior to those probably much earlier repetitions that have been ascribed—some to the master himself, and some, I think erroneously, to Gian Antonio and to Z. A. (as the Triumph B. 14, the "Nymphs" B. 18 of Z. A., and the Copy 2 of B., of the Upright "Entombment,") these later reproductions of the Mantuan are not however without considerable interest, and, in default of the originals, Gian Antonio's "Hercules with the Lion, and with Antaeus" (B. 11 and 14), may in some degree supply their place. Z. A.'s "Man of Sorrows" (B. 4) repeats Mantegna's (B. 7), failing indeed of the original's astonishing perfection, but with varia-

tions for which we are probably indebted to the Master's own design.

53. Gian Antonio's "Flagellation" (Ott., p. 561), a work in the manner of Mantegna, bears the date 1509; but the "Satyr" and the "White Horse" (B. 16 and Ott. p. 566), copied from Dürer's Nos. 69 and 97, and the latter copy with the original dated 1505, probably preceded it. These I have not seen, but the Z. A. repetition (Ott., p. 583) of Dürer's "Madonna and Child" (B. 42), preserved in the British Museum, exhibits unusual spirit and delicacy; of the many attempts during three hundred and fifty years to reproduce that inimitable genius it is among the most successful. One original, and that Venetian of the highest period, appears to have supplied both Marc Antonio (B. 383) and Gian Antonio (B. 21) with the graceful "Girl and Waterpot:" the Brescian repetition (Ott., p. 564) of Marc Antonio's "Neptune" (B. 352) with his Raphaelesque subjects, the "Madonna with Saints" (B. xv. p. 22), the "Sibyls" (B. xv. p. 48) from the fresco in La Pace, an engraving hardly executed before 1520, and the "Presentation of the Virgin" (B. 4), from the design of Timoteo delle Vite, are less important. Nor does the praise Ottley bestows on the Z. A. "Lion and Dragon" (B. 20) from Leonardo da Vinci, appear altogether merited.

54. A number of friezes and arabesques appear also under the signatures I. A. and Z. A., and connect the artist with the peculiar ornamental tendency of the early Florentine school.

55. *x.* A few less important engravers may be briefly noticed. The artist signing his works with the figure of a Rat-trap, connected possibly with the Veronese Riccio-Brusasorci family, and influenced at least by the Venetian school, exhibits a spirit and delicacy in handling that resemble the prints marked P. P. To the so-called Peregrino da Cesena and the so-called Gian Battista del Porto (for the name is in each case a conjectural completion of initials) a small number of works belong. Those marked P. (supposed Cesena's) from their niello-like style may be placed not later than the first years of the sixteenth century; the "Child with a Bird" dated 1511 (B. 1) has been repeated by Gian Antonio da Brescia in an undescribed "Holy Family" of the British

Museum Collection. I. B.'s works so strongly resemble Nicoletto's that it is probable this anonymous artist was Nicoletto's master or model. They exhibit drawing free and graceful, and a landscape possibly founded on that of the very interesting German engraver Lucas Cranach, a man who (however inferior in technical merit) has rendered more deeply the *fantastic* spirit of Northern forest-scenery than Lucas van Leyden or Dürer himself.

57. *xi.* To the Florentine school may belong three or four ruder artists, one signing by initials I. F. T.; one with the date 1507 (B. xiii. p. 351), and others, copyists, so far as appears, from Mantegna and from Robetta.

58. To sum up the first and the second portions of our sketch, two great eras of success, neither exceeding sixty years, seem to divide early Italian engraving, the school of Florence and that of Northern Italy; the first *possibly* carried to its perfection by Baldini, the second by Mantegna, Mocetto, and the two artists of the Campagnola family. The first sets before us this art in its origin, aiming mainly at the pure reproduction of finished designs; in the second we find the higher aim to unite in some degree the magic of colour with drawing of a bolder and more inventive character. Both again represent the highest periods of their respective schools of painting, and both, after the production of works yet unequalled in the highest qualities of true art, seem suddenly, and within a few years of the critical opening of the sixteenth century, to fail and to pass away under the hands of the unskilful and of the mechanical. To Venetian Painting indeed fifty years of glory, Titian, Palma, Tintoret, Veronese, and Bassano, still remained, but *their* art seems from the first to have baffled every attempt at imitation. The Florentine school, though productive of genius the highest and the most consummate, yet saw Leonardo, and Bartolommeo, and Michael Angelo establish themselves elsewhere. Devotional art now flourished north or south of Arno, in Umbria or in Bologna—the "modern style," to employ the phrase of Vasari, in the ancient capital of Italy—it is to these spots that we must look for that last and most striking development of early Italian engraving which is summed up in the name of Marc Antonio.

III. Roman School. 1500–1540.

59. By influx from the rest of Italy, Rome, barren as I have before noticed in native genius from the times of her earlier population and government, had now become the temporary centre of Italian art. Venice and Milan might indeed rival her: the first by her peculiar gift, Colour, that stamped an individuality on Venetian, more decisively than Roman Design on Roman paintings; Milan by the sweet and emphatically human tenderness characterizing the Lombardic school. But, great as they were, the names of Bellini, Giorgione, and Leonardo fell short of the glory conferred by Raphael and by Michael Angelo on the city of their adoption. And of these eminent men the genius of Raphael, lying mainly (though not indeed exclusively) in grace of design and fertility of invention, far more than the sterner and deeper creations of Buonarroti, by its very nature most invited, and could best reward the engraver's efforts.

60. As however with the Painters, so also from extra-Roman Italy came the three great Engravers of the Roman school—Marc Antonio of Bologna, Agostino of Venice, and Marco Dente of Ravenna; and of these, Marc Antonio alone I propose to notice here; for the others, his disciples, men indeed of conspicuous talent, yet even under *his* superintendence fell far below their master's excellence; and in their latter period, from 1520 onwards, manifest unquestionable degeneracy and an approximation to the comparatively lifeless character infecting all Italian art during the latter part of the century, not Michael Angelo's, or not Veneto-Lombardic.

61. Falling almost within his own remembrance, some particulars of the life of Marc Antonio Raimondi have been given us by Vasari. These, however, are scanty, nor always accurate; and the very general absence of dates from Marc Antonio's engravings, added to the peculiar and almost monotonous character of their greater number (reproducing the later designs of Raphael, or conceived in his Roman manner), limits extremely our positive information in regard to the progress of this great artist. Hence also, in the endeavour I shall make to trace the development of his genius and of his art, I

should desire that the judgments hazarded be accepted with the diffidence in which I give them.

62. Born probably about 1480, towards the beginning of the sixteenth century Marc Antonio entered the service of Francesco Francia, the great Bolognese artist: apprenticed not as scholar to the painter, but to assist in Francia's original employment as a goldsmith, famous for delicate work in decoration and in niello. In this art Marc Antonio's skill gained him the honourable title "de' Franci"—a plural designation, including perhaps Francesco and Giacomo Francia: with fame, further, throughout the city, and a stanza of commendation in the poem of the Bolognese Achilleo Achillini, written, the colophon informs us, in 1504, and published in 1513. Marc Antonio's recognised portrait of the author, therein alluded to (B. 469, signed Philotheo, Achillini's *Arcadian* designation), cannot however have been executed before the year 1508.

63. The residence of Albert Dürer in Venice, and thence in Bologna (1506), encouraged, it is probable, Marc Antonio in the study of that great master of engraving previously commenced; until growing years and the desire to perfect his style (deficient hitherto in correctness of design and in general chiaroscuro) separated him from the city of Francia, and in 1509 (it appears) he in his turn visiting Venice, was favourably received by the local artists. At Venice he engraved on copper some of Dürer's woodcuts—seventeen pieces from his "Life of the Madonna" (B. 77–92, and 95), with an exactness which, according to Vasari (whose details have however been here proved inaccurate), resulted in a lawsuit and a prohibition from repeating the signature of the originals on the other copies Marc Antonio afterwards appears to have produced. From Venice, passing probably through Florence, and there making acquaintance with the engravings of Lucas van Leyden, he proceeded to Rome, invited thither either by desire to visit the capital, or by message from Raphael Sanzio.

64. At Rome the greater part of Marc Antonio's remaining life was spent. Introduced to the great master, he engraved some designs submitted to him, it appears, by Raphael—the "Lucretia" (B. 192) is named by Vasari,—to his entire satis-

faction. Then followed other plates; the "Judgment of Paris" (B. 245), the "Massacre of the Innocents" (B. 18), "to the astonishment of all Rome;" and Marc Antonio's fame was established. Baviera, Raphael's colour-grinder, completing the arrangement, joined him to assist in the working-off. To *this* no doubt is due the brilliancy and the admirable taste with which the plates were printed:—the paper—unlike the spongy medium which the nineteenth century seems to hold an improvement—thin almost to transparency, but beyond any other, firm and pure in substance; the ink in tone, clear at once and mellow: matters small, yet strictly material, and in absence of which the engraver labours to no purpose. Agostino de' Musi from Venice, and Marco Dente from Ravenna (the first trained already in the school of Giulio Campagnola), became his apprentices; and until Raphael's death (1520) the friendly partnership, so much to the world's advantage, was unbroken.

65. Some engravings from designs by Giulio Romano of questionable morality, undertaken to illustrate Pietro Aretino's Sonnets, brought upon Marc Antonio the censure of Pope Clement VIII.; and after restoration to favour, the sack of Rome by the Spaniards (1527), dispersing the temporary glories of Roman art, and accompanied, it is said, by the death of Marco Dente, drove Marc Antonio into poverty and flight. Broken-spirited, he returned to Bologna, and of his further works, life, and death we have no details. 1536 is the last date furnished by the engravings of Agostino Veneziano.

66. Marc Antonio's style, with his life, falls naturally under three divisions—Bologna, Venice, and Rome; these, again, conveniently subdivided, will present the whole thus, with a detail justified by the importance and the many works of the engraver:—

I. Bologna	A. 1500—1505.
	B. 1505—1509.
II. Venice and Florence . .	C. 1509—1510.
III. Rome; 1510—1527 . .	D. First Roman Style.
	E. Second Roman and most finished.
	F. Third Roman and boldest manner.

The characteristics of each period, original and derived from

external influence, so far as possible I shall now endeavour to define; adding (as on Marc Antonio some general knowledge exists) frequent reference to the more important engravings; specified here and elsewhere by their number in Bartsch's catalogue.

67. I. A. The style of Marc Antonio during his Bolognese residence was naturally influenced by Francia; but it was Francia the Goldsmith, the skilful handler of niello, as remarked by M. Vitet in an interesting paper, that impressed the pupil. In a very few instances, most notably the "Adoration" (B. 16) and the "S.S. Catherine and Lucy" (B. 121), he has rendered with eminent success the devotional feeling, the pure and graceful line, and the cheerful daylight landscape of the great painter. But that advance in the *méchanique* of his art, fineness and closeness of line, subdued brilliancy in effect, mastery, in a word, over the graver rather than over the engraving, were his first objects, the larger number of Marc Antonio's early works sufficiently reveal: and it was mainly in this respect that he profited by apprenticeship to Francia. Hence followed an indifference to unity of design. Some early works, as the "Knights" (B. 188-191) and the "S. Christopher" (B. 96), are of almost Roman simplicity and purity: one, the "Venus and Æneas" (B. 288), reminds, in style and in handling, of his master's son, Giacomo Francia; others, as just mentioned, belong to Francesco's immediate inspiration. Lastly, we find those prints representing mainly mythological subjects, the design of which many writers have confidently ascribed to Francia. But inasmuch as pictures or drawings by Francesco, rendering these subjects, and exhibiting undraped figures, are, if not absolutely unknown, at any rate extremely rare—I can find none such described—this conjecture cannot appear well founded. These works, the "Descent into Hell" (B. 41), "S. George" (B. 98), "Orpheus seated" (B. 314), "Pyramus and Thisbe" (1505, B. 322, presenting a graceful and melancholy figure, with drapery broken into folds many but continuous, of occurrence so frequent that we may regard it as a favourite type), seem to me more probably altogether the engraver's own. That by 1510 he was known as a designer we learn from Vasari; and this series, by their progressive advance (traceable, by dates

affixed, from 1505 to 1508), bear strong evidence of a continuous progress from feebleness, alike in drawing and in conception, to an excellence that might justly attract the attention of Raphael Sanzio.

68. With the "Pyramus" of 1505 (B. 322), with Orpheus (B. 314), and the "Venus, Vulcan, and Love" (B. 326), a new element appears. The backgrounds, hitherto undecided in character, betray the growing study of Albert Dürer—so early in his career, we cannot doubt the influence of that powerful genius on Marc Antonio—disproving the hasty assertion of Vasari, which refers it to 1509. And we may hence regard these works as forming a transitional species —a class A—B, if such designation for greater accuracy's sake, be not considered pedantic—conducting to those prints which, produced between 1505-1509, I have already marked B.

69. B. These remarkable works, by their increased indifference to design compared with execution—although in designing there is meanwhile, as already noticed, a certain spontaneous advance—in the rapidity of their production, and the frequent dates inscribed, as if to mark the rapid development of the artist's powers, attest the effect produced at Bologna, as elsewhere throughout Italy, by the introduction of German masterpieces. April or August, 1506, the date added to a copy (B. 643) from Dürer's woodcut "S.S. John and Jerome" (B. 112), gives *decided* proof of that study of the Bavarian master which earlier works intimate. May, 1506, produced the "Nymph and Satyr" (B. 319), imitating Dürer in the background, and rivalling Raphael in grace of line; September, 1506, the "Venus Anadyomene" (B. 312), such as she might have presented herself to the drunken dreams of Jordaens. In that September are again dated the "Cupid and Children" (B. 320), possibly (as noticed by Waagen) from a sketch by Mantegna. Design and conception in these works and their companions indicate no certain aim; conscientious elaboration in finish, increasing mastery over the graver, *these* unite productions otherwise so discrepant.

70. Similar qualities mark other engravings, which, from an advance in drawing now at last more decisively manifesting itself, combined with greater freedom and largeness, and a more successful treatment of half-tints, we may assign to

the last years of Marc Antonio's Bolognese period. Such are the "Mars and Venus" (B. 345) of December, 1508, the background again suggested by Dürer; the "Faun and Child" (B. 296: if not later); the "Portrait of Achilleo Achillini" (B. 469) (the notice of which must have been inserted in Achillini's poem between the dates of its composition and publication before given); and the "Nymph and Satyr" (B. 279), a rare and beautiful little print, where the landscape, though, as in the preceding, German in *motif*, is yet treated with Italian feeling, verging, in *this* instance, on a Venetian character.

71. II. C. These last noticed works, which we might class B—C, lead us on to those I have marked C, the produce of the years 1509-1510. Few in number, but exquisite alike in design, in chiaroscuro, and in handling, the advance these works display emphasizes the months spent at Venice and at Florence as the most critical, perhaps, in Marc Antonio's career. For Venice and Florence rendered him worthy of Rome, *Maestro* in his own right, and competent to the reproduction of Raphael. In fact, the "Girl and Waterpot" (B. 383), apparently from the design of Giorgione; the "David" (B. 12), the elaborate fancy piece (B. 359), resembling again closely works ascribed to Giorgione (and the foreground sleeping figure, it may be noticed in corroboration, is repeated in Giulio Campagnola's No. 8 of Ottley's Catalogue); with the celebrated group of "Climbing Warriors" (B. 487), from Michael Angelo's cartoon, possess an excellence in chiaroscuro, and a rich completeness in effect, rarely attained, and, perhaps, rarely aimed at, in the engravings of Marc Antonio's Roman period.

72. In the "Climbing Warriors," again, another element appears. Schongauer possibly first, Dürer next, had influenced Marc Antonio. But the peculiarly delicate execution of this engraving, and the background transposed from the print of the "Monk Sergius" (B. 126), show the successful eagerness with which Marc Antonio, in earlier years peculiarly susceptible of external impression, and by this susceptibility fitted for the work of an engraver as such, seized on the new model presented him by Lucas van Leyden, the second chief of the German school.

73. The long series of copies from Dürer—requiring, of course, the allowance of more than one year (perhaps 1507 to 1510: the originals were published 1500), some of which, according to Vasari, drew upon Marc Antonio that imputation of having invaded the property of the German master—exhibits at once the Italian popularity of originals, conceived in a style so emphatically non-Italian; the admiration of the copyist, and the amazing rapidity of Marc Antonio's own execution. Inferior, however, to Albert's work in firmness of handling, truth of drawing, and general effect, it is in *those* respects, I may add, that these copies are mainly remarkable.

74. While thus engaged, and possibly working on the "Climbing Warriors" from the Cartoon itself within the walls of the Palazzo Vecchio, Raphael's invitation, or the attraction of the capital, summoned Marc Antonio to Rome, henceforth the scene of his labours. But of the many works there produced, so few bear external evidence of date that the triple division under which I shall now attempt to range them is unavoidably liable to the deep uncertainty that *must* attend every classification founded on internal evidence; and *this*, in the present instance, from Marc Antonio's peculiar direction, unusually uncertain. For from the first adopting the style of design—pure and graceful but ideal (in the sense that tends strongly to the sacrifice of character), known generally as Roman—he, with the partiality exhibited in the case of Francia, followed in Raphael the *Roman* painter alone, leaving altogether untouched that earlier and more devotional style the master practised at Perugia and at Florence; regarding it perhaps with the painter himself as out of date, or beyond his capacity.

75. III. D. On Marc Antonio's First Roman Style—to be here marked D—the influences immediately preceding are naturally stamped. "Lucretia" (B. 192), traditionally described as the trial-piece, executed on his arrival for Raphael's inspection, "Dido" (B. 187), "Adam and Eve" (B. 1), and the "Virgin and Saviour" (B. 34)—present landscape backgrounds imitated from Lucas van Leyden. A peculiarly graceful cast of drapery, and similarity in features, seem to show that a single model suggested the beautiful female figures in the "Lucretia," "Dido," and "Eve;" with the "Eurydice" of B.

295, where, however, the Orpheus recalls that earlier type already noticed. To these admirable works we may add the "Two figures from the Sistine Chapel" (B. 464, the fresco completed by 1511); "Force" and "Temperance" (B. 375, 376); the "Triumph of Titus" (B. 213), Marc Antonio's sole recognized engraving from the great Siennese artist, Gian Antonio Razzi: together with the rare "Bacchanals" (B. 248), unless this belongs to the preceding period. Above these even in perfection of line may perhaps stand the yet rarer groups of Saints, the "Lucy, Catharine, and Barbara" (B. 120), the "Madonna, Magdalene, and Maria Egiptiaca" (Ottley, 64), and a "S. Anthony" and "S. Paul of Jerusalem" (with the three preceding, preserved in Dr. Wellesley's Collection and undescribed); all with the dark backgrounds usually seen in nielli. An extraordinary finish and delicacy characterize the prints here classified; engraved with lines set closely together, yet on the whole mechanically ranged, and in the extremities inferior in decision and drawing to Marc Antonio's later works.

76. Distinguished in general by the same characters, but with increased aim at chiaroscuro and brilliancy of effect—from which Marc Antonio may for awhile have been diverted by the study of Lucas van Leyden, on these points inferior to Dürer—those prints we may place next in order to the First Roman period and transitional to the Second, contain some of excellence so high that they have since their first appearance ranked among works of art the choicest and the most consummate. Such we may reckon the "S. Jerome" (B. 101); "Galataea" (B. 350—the fresco completed by 1514); the series illustrative of the Aeneid (B. 352); and, surpassing all, that wonderful "Judgment of Paris" (B. 245),—the astonishment at its publication, Vasari reports, of all Rome—unequalled by any other of Marc Antonio's for variety of figure, perfection of line and of expression, and an effect of chiaroscuro in the early impressions—one in the British Museum, one in the Paris Bibliothèque, and one in possession of Mr. M. Johnson of Oxford, deserve special notice,—placing it almost within the range of actual painting.

77. To the same period may possibly be assigned the greater number of a remarkable series of small works, executed appa-

rently in pure dry-point, representing in general some scene of romance or some half-allegory, so much the tendency of the Italian mind during the century 1450 to 1550, and thence conveyed by gradual transmission to France and to Elizabethan England. To this class (D—E) belong the "Girl with a Crescent" (B. 354) and its companion (B. 369):—the admirable "Three Doctors" (B. 404); the "Youth with a Violin" (B. 435); the "Girl tearing her Hair" (B. 437); and, in style of execution, the "David" (B. 11), the "S. John Baptist" (B. 99;—unless we place this later), and the "Venus and Cupid" (B. 260)—extracted from the "Judgment of Paris"—so similar in handling to an undescribed and signed "Lucretia," of the Wellesley Cabinet, that, although questioned by Bartsch, I should consider it Marc Antonio's:—all bearing tokens more or less distinct of Raphael's now all-prevailing influence.

78. E. An equal delicacy of line, with increased skill in the shadings and the contours, mark that progress which we may assign to the Second Roman period. Many famous works—I regret that I can do little more than indicate them—belong to this class, marked also by a closer adoption of that somewhat meagre and deficient chiaroscuro characteristic of the Roman school. The general ideas of air and space are now sacrificed to a stronger emphasis on the foreground figures, which preserve, however, their refinement in expression: the landscape distance begins to give place to conventional delineations of architecture; and studies from ancient sculpture, of frequent occurrence among the later drawings of Raphael, are reproduced by his engraver. Here we may place the noble "Vision of Noah" (B. 3), evidently early in the series; the "Madonna seated on Clouds" (B. 47); two other "Holy Families" of uncommon grace in design (B. 62 and 63); the "Dance of Children" (B. 217); the "Fauns and Child" (B. 230); "Venus and Cupid in the Niche" (B. 311), a most rare and graceful work; "Amadeus" (B. 355), a frontispiece to the work of Am. Berrutus, published 1517; "Philosophy" (B. 381), with the companion print, more charming still, "Poetry" (B. 382), both masterpieces in rendering the majestic beauty of Raphael's children; the "Plague Scene"

(B. 417); two portraits, the so-called "Raphael" (B. 496); and the highly-finished "Aretino" (B. 513), it is said from the design of Titian. To this date we may, perhaps, assign the "Massacre of the Innocents" (B. 18); the "S. Cecilia" (B. 116); and, with less hesitation, the "Descent from the Cross" (B. 32), where the background furnishes probably Marc Antonio's last recurrence to Lucas van Leyden.

79. This print, with the "Pietà" (B. 37), which I should place at the close of Marc Antonio's first Roman period, or the commencement of the second, are, so far as I am aware, the sole instances where the engraver has rendered designs belonging to Raphael's Florentine time. They have thence the peculiar interest that must always belong to every step in the development of a mind richly gifted as Raphael Sanzio's. In both the Peruginesque element, in the original pictures conspicuous (the "Deposition," formerly in the Fesch gallery; the "Pietà," a version of the Borghese Palace "Entombment"),—perhaps by the master's own re-drawing, has disappeared before the larger forms, and expression less naïf and devotional of his Roman style; an alteration marked in the "Pietà" less completely, yet with a distinctness decisively revealing the vast change wrought within the ten years succeeding 1508; in the "Deposition," leaving an arrangement of figures, magnificent in line indeed and graceful, yet devoid of the more touching and higher truth of passionate expression.

80. As E—F, transitional to the latest Roman period, but in immediate sequence with the foregoing, may stand the "Joseph" (B. 9), the "Saviour at Simon's house" (B. 23), the so-called "Magdalene at the Steps" (B. 45), and the "S. Felicità" (B. 117), where, as in the "Massacre of the Innocents" and the "Plague Scene," even Raphael's most consummate design, and Marc Antonio's most elaborate execution, fail to conquer the just repugnance roused by the representation of tortured beauty, agonized mothers, and expiring children; works, though classical in form, yet in spirit far alien from the more human character of the older mythology. And in this series, but contrasted with those frightful scenes of unmerited suffering, we may further place the "Cleopatra" (B. 199), matchless in the reconcilement of grace, expression,

and severity—the "Parnassus" (B. 247) with the "Subjects from the Farnesina" (B. 342–344), admirable for conduct of line: and, exhibiting more than any yet cited the later direction of the engraver's talent, that striking Vision of the glorified Saviour, by some caprice known as the "Five Saints."

81. In this print (B. 113), celebrated perhaps rather beyond its merits, though great, individual expression (as before individuality in landscape and in accessories) appears partially sacrificed to the general effect of the group, rendered with consummate skill in the masses, and a mastery of handling in former works never so decisively attained. And to these years (1516 perhaps to 1522), we may probably assign two long series of minor works: the "Small Saints" (B. 124–184), and the "Mythological Figures" (B. 263-278). Conducive no doubt to this command of the graver, these prints however exhibit in many instances the artist lowered to the manufacturer—and foreshadow thus that ultimate separation of the arts of painting and engraving, against the evil effects of which even the genius of Nanteuil, and Strange, and Longhi, and Müller has striven in vain. Whatever additional mastery over *technical* difficulties may be gained by this consecration of a life, is more than lost by the exigencies of translation: for "one man's thoughts," to sum up with the verdict of a great judge, "can *never* be expressed by another."

82. F. Falling after Raphael's death (1520), Marc Antonio's Third Roman period, least satisfactory on the whole, and justly, to the judgment of the present day (yet for two centuries during European preference for the "Eclectic" style esteemed highest), is marked by that peculiar development which brought rapid ruin on the temporary glories of the Roman school. To this time, and that beyond question—belongs the series illustrating the poems of Aretino—fragments of which have here and there escaped the proscriptive sentence of Clement: the "Alexander and Homer" (B. 207), the "S. Paul at Athens" (B. 44), the "Virgin of Foligno" (B. 52), the "Apostles" (B. 79–91), worthy at least of Marc Antonio, even if the signature S. R. on the supposed repetitions be read not "Raphael Sanzio," but "[Marcus] Ravennas." Yet so admirable is the general effect in many of these works,

however wanting in inner expression and feeling—that we can hardly suppose them all executed without the guiding inspiration of Raphael. More decidedly late are the "Cassolette" (B. 489), the "Man bearing the base of a Column" (B. 476), the "Rape of Helen" (B. 209), the background so absolutely deficient in the earlier grace and the whole failing in *any* effect of chiaroscuro—the mannered and uninteresting "Virgin and Child" (B. 57), and the "Queen of Sheba" (B. 13), a large composition from a drawing of Raphael's earlier time, apparently left unfinished by the engraver.

83. In the "Martyrdom of S. Laurence" (B. 104) lastly, the most elaborate production of Marc Antonio's latest style, every previous tendency reaches its consummation. Beyond even its own merit, this print is of special interest as typifying the ultimate issues of the Roman school. We have here finish the most patient—mastery over the tool, the most complete—drawing in boldness and in truth infinitely surpassing the "Lucretia" of 1510; and all lavished on a design by Baccio Bandinelli, deficient in unity, feeling, and chiaroscuro, and placing before our sight a subject of all that can be set before human eyes the most revolting, the fiendish cruelty of man, and a death which the artist has been unable to dignify with the glorified expression of triumphant faith, or the solemnity of martyrdom.

84. Art, thus employed for exhibition of technical excellence alone, no longer conducive to pleasure or influential for instruction, with her authentic purposes forfeits Truth, and is forsaken by Beauty. Here therefore I close this essay, reluctant to track the progress of national degradation, and emphasize the fallen fortunes of Italy, or, after the survey of success so brilliant, dwell on a decline that by some law, almost without exception, appears the spontaneous compensation and ransom for the rare interspaces nature assigns to the triumph of human Endeavour.

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